DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 360 518 CE 064 252

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TITLE Strengthening Programs for Youth. Promoting Adolescent Development in the JTPA System.
INSTITUTION Public/Private Ventures, Philadelphia, PA.
SPONS AGENCY Employment and Training Administration (DOL), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE 93
CONTRACT 99-0-1879-75-053-01
NOTE 106p.
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC05 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Adolescent Development; At Risk Persons; Demonstration Programs; Disadvantaged Youth; Employment Potential; *Employment Programs; Federal Legislation; Federal Programs; *Job Training; Personality Development; Postsecondary Education; Program Design; *Program Improvement; Secondary Education; Social Development; *Youth Employment; *Youth Programs
IDENTIFIERS *Job Training Partnership Act 1982

ABSTRACT

This report is a first step in defining the direction in which the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) system should move to create programs that facilitate growth toward a socially constructive adulthood. An introduction describes the purpose and scope of a project that convened a panel of experts who generated the information, four background papers, and five case studies synthesized into this report. Chapter II examines briefly the role development plays in youth employability and lays out a developmental framework from which employment programs can be examined. Chapters III and IV focus on specific program features considered critical for providing environments that can enhance youth development. Chapter III considers assessment and engagement in program settings, including assessment and goals, tracking progress, engaging youth in programs, and how support services facilitate growth. Chapter IV describes a more systematic approach to staff selection and training, including structuring relationships between staff and youth, criteria and process for staff and youth, and staff training. Chapter V considers the current JTPA system in light of these critical features; Chapter VI recommends ways to begin incorporating practices into the JTPA system that could improve effectiveness by more directly promoting youth development. Appendixes include the following: 44 references, descriptions of 5 exemplary programs, and a training package for new staff, "A Developmental Approach to Job Training with 'At-Risk' Youth." (YLB)

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Strengthening Programs for Youth

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Promoting Adolescent Development in the JTPA System

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Public/Private Ventures is a national, not-for-profit corporation that designs, manages and evaluates initiatives designed to help young people, especially those from poor urban communities, increase their capacities to lead productive lives. P/PV's work is supported by funds from both the public and private sectors.

This project has been funded by the U.S. Department of Labor, Employment and Training Administration under contract No. 99-0-1879-75-053-01. The contents of this publication do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the Department of Labor, nor does mention of trade names, commercial products or organizations imply endorsement of same by the U.S. government. Opinions expressed are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect positions of the Department of Labor.

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Strengthening Programs for Youth

Promoting Adolescent Development in the JTPA System

Michelle Alberti Gambone

Contents

Preface

I. **Introduction** 1
Purpose of the Project 1
Scope of the Project 3

II. **How Does Social-Psychological Development Affect Labor Market Success** 7
Requirements for Labor Market Success 7
A Developmental Framework 9

III. **Assessment And Engagement In Program Settings** 19
Assessment and Goals 20
Tracking Progress 24
Engaging Youth in Programs 27
How Support Services Facilitate Growth 39
Summary 43

IV. **Staffing And Organizational Issues** 45
Structuring Relationships Between Staff and Youth 46
Criteria and Process for Staff Selection 49
Staff Training 54
Organizational Features for Developmental Settings 56
Summary 58

V. **Promoting Youth Development In the JTPA System** 61
Assessment and Goals in JTPA Programs 61
The Use of Service Strategies That Enhance Development 63
Staff/Youth Relationships in JTPA 65
Organizational Supports for Development in the JTPA System 66

VI. **Recommendations** 67

References 73

Appendices

Appendix A: Descriptions Of Exemplary Programs 77

Appendix B: A Developmental Approach To Job Training With "At-Risk" Youth: A Training Package for New Staff 89

Acknowledgements

This project was inspired and continuously guided by the insights of the participants in the Youth Research and Technical Assistance Project's "Adolescent Development Conference." This productive group included seven developmental psychologists--Dr. Larry Aber, Dr. Charles Blakeney, Dr. Ronnie Blakeney, Dr. James Connell, Dr. Robert Kegan and Dr. Peter Scales; two sociologists--Dr. Viktor Gecas and Dr. Jeylan Mortimer; one economist--Dr. Frank Levy; one representative from the U.S. Department of Labor--Gerald Gundersen; and senior staff from Public/Private Ventures--Michael A. Bailin, Gary Walker and Thomas J. Smith. The success of the conference is owed, in part, to the organizational skills of the project's administrative assistant--Maxine Sherman.

The fieldwork for this project benefited from the contributions of a talented staff of researchers, including Keith Allum, Dara Carr and Mary Moorhouse.

The contributions to this report by the authors of the background papers were invaluable. They are Dr. Robert Kegan, Maria Broderick, Nancy Popp, Dr. Charles Blakeney, Dr. Ronnie Blakeney, Dr. Martha Gephart, Dr. Jeylan Mortimer and Dr. Michael Finch. (Summaries of their papers are available on request from Public/Private Ventures.)

We also owe a deep debt of gratitude to the program staff and participants who were so generous with their time and freely shared their experiences with us for the benefit of this project. The five exemplary programs we visited are: DeLaSalle Education Center, Manhattan Valley, the Milwaukee Community Service Corps, The Young Adult Learning Academy and the Youth Opportunities Unlimited demonstration program in San Diego, California.

Finally, the preparation of this report would not have been possible without the indispensable contributions of Gary Walker and Thomas J. Smith; or the tireless efforts of Natalie Jaffe, Bonnie Halpern-Felsher, Maxine Sherman and Robert Henry.

Preface

This report recommends that the federal Department of Labor (DOL) take a leadership role in establishing and supporting programs aiming to promote the overall maturation of disadvantaged youth, from their early teens through their early twenties. It is a broader role than the Department has traditionally taken--until now, the emphasis has been primarily on assisting in the acquisition of specific skills.

But that approach has not been effective, as evidenced by a host of evaluations and research studies. The decent jobs of today's (and tomorrow's) economy demand an array of skills and attributes--cognitive, interpersonal, emotional and moral--that go beyond good work habits, literacy and job-specific technical skills. And an increasing number of America's youth grow up in environments where those skills and attributes are not formed as part of the natural process of growing up.

The optimal solution is to improve those environments, so that the natural process works. That is a formidable and lengthy task, one in which many of the most important factors are simply not within the control or influence of public policy. Unless we are willing to write off literally millions of our youth, we must also--while working to improve those environments--devise public policy initiatives that compensate for early developmental disadvantages, and promote the skills and attributes that both employers and our society require.

As this report documents, we are developing the knowledge to shape and mount such initiatives. We also have bellwether programs that are beginning to do it. What we have not had is the resolve to push ahead with this knowledge and experience, and convert it to general policy and practice.

The report recommends specific strategies and actions that will lay the groundwork for wide-scale action, and that will ensure monitoring of whether our policies and practices are in fact effective. All are within the control and influence of public policy.

Carrying out this more developmentally oriented approach to programming for disadvantaged youth will require changes to many conventional practices in social programming. However, the changes are not radical; they are evolutionary, as evidenced by the existing programs

cited in this document and, more fundamentally, by the recent JTPA amendments, which were shaped by the 1989 recommendations of the Secretary of Labor's JTPA Advisory Committee. Those amendments provide a receptive legislative structure for DOL leadership and for the programmatic recommendations of this report.

Why DOL as a leader in youth development? Of course, other federal agencies have equally strong responsibilities in providing leadership and support so that our youth develop into mature, effective workers and citizens, as do state and local education, health and welfare, and social service organizations, and the rich network of private voluntary associations that provide services to youth all across America.

But new policy initiatives need substantive and institutional focal points. Work and learning represent core activities around which much of our development and maturation, as individuals and citizens, take place. As a nation, we have already determined to improve the usefulness of learning for our youth's development. We need a like commitment to work as a developmental asset.

Gary Walker
Executive Vice President
Public/Private Ventures

I. Introduction

Purpose Of The Project

In 1990, the U.S. Department of Labor (DOL) contracted with Brandeis University and Public/Private Ventures (P/PV) to undertake a synthesis and analysis of research in a broad range of areas that might hold lessons for our understanding of youth employment problems. Accordingly, the first phase of the project concentrated on reviewing knowledge accumulated over the past decade about labor market forces, demographic trends, employment and training programs and their management across a number of disciplines. The results of this review are published in two volumes of research papers, titled ***Dilemmas in Youth Employment Programming: Findings From the Youth Research and Technical Assistance Project***. The findings that emerged from this work are central to reshaping and redirecting our efforts to address youth employment problems effectively; they provide background for the second phase of research reported in this paper and are summarized below.

First, it is clear that youth unemployment and poor preparation for work have been persistent problems for more than a decade; and the past few years have seen them worsen, particularly for youth who come from socially and economically disadvantaged backgrounds.[1] The increasing skill levels needed in a more demanding labor market, and the continuing failure of primary social institutions adequately to prepare large numbers of youth for successful transitions into the labor force, make it clear that a significantly revamped "second-chance" system is needed now, and will probably continue to be needed in the foreseeable future.

It is also clear that the current second-chance system for youth--the employment and training programs funded through the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA)--has not been successful in improving the life chances of youth who are most at risk of education and employment failure. Reviews of the program evaluation literature showed that training strategies (Smith and Gambone, 1992) and the structure of programs (Higgins, 1992) provided for youth have yielded little success in achieving positive labor market outcomes. This finding is buttressed by the large-scale impact study of the JTPA system published in the past year (Bloom et al., 1992), which shows out-of-school youth who participate in JTPA programs do no better than those who do not participate (and, in the case of on-the-job training strategies, they fare worse).

[1] Youth who come from high-risk environments are commonly referred to as "at-risk" youth; in fact, the risk is in the environment, not inherently in the youth. This is the meaning of the phrase "at-risk youth" as used in this report.

Traditional evaluation research has focused on documenting the success or failure of programs, but not the underlying reasons for the outcomes. That research provides little hard knowledge about how to structure programs or design interventions so that young people are attracted to them, complete them, or benefit from them in significant ways (Higgins, 1992; Nightingale et al., 1992; Smith and Gambone, 1992). But it does point in new directions. Along with the experience of youth program operators and adolescent development scholars, research findings increasingly identify important differences between training or retraining adults for work, and preparing teenagers for employment. The preparation effort for teenagers must recognize the transitions and developmental dilemmas inherent in the process of becoming adults. This recognition is evidenced by the attention now being given to youth development by policy advocates, and by efforts in the JTPA system to measure youth competencies as well as labor market outcomes.

The youth who represent the largest proportion of the clientele served by the JTPA system--the economically disadvantaged--are not well served by programs focusing solely on occupational or basic skills training. The barriers to stable employment for these youth often extend beyond the lack of specific skills or competencies; these barriers arise because of conditions that are correlates of poverty. An established body of research documents the pervasive effects of poverty on the lives of the young people who must mature under these circumstances. The ill effects of economic impoverishment extend into virtually all of the areas of life considered important for reaching a healthy, stable adulthood: parental and family relationships, peer-group influences, educational opportunities, community resources, adult role models and influences, and job opportunities. For example, many young people in poverty live in a single-parent home where the parental control and support associated with positive outcomes (such as autonomy, positive orientation to work, academic success, high self-esteem, etc.) is less likely to occur. Many attend schools with inadequate resources and high dropout rates, and associate with adults who are engaged in illegal activities or are unemployed, rather than with adults employed in the regular labor market.[2] Clearly, if employment and training efforts with youth from these high-risk environments focus solely on occupational training, they will be limited in their capacity for success in light of the many other barriers these young people face, which directly affect their "job-readiness."

These conclusions are echoed time and again throughout the papers of the different researchers working on the first phase of the DOL initiative: that at-risk youth are not effectively being served by the present employment and

[2] A great deal of this literature is reviewed in Smith and Gambone, 1992; other extensive treatments of this topic include the work of Wilson (1987), Gecas and Seff (1990), Gecas (1979), McCloyd (1990) and Jencks and Meyer (1990).

training system; and that intervention strategies usually do not take into account the developmental stage that youth are in, or their life obstacles. With these conclusions in mind, the second phase of the project begins to address these issues, and actions that might be taken to begin building more effective interventions.

Scope Of The Project

The guiding question for this phase of the project was "How can we begin to design **developmentally appropriate** strategies for intervening in the lives of at-risk youth in order to increase the impact of employment and training programs on their lives?" To answer this question, we identified seven research questions to be addressed:

1. What specific physical, cognitive, emotional, interpersonal and social role changes that occur during adolescence can affect youth employability, and how can these characteristics be measured?

2. How are environments fostered (particularly program environments) that provide opportunities for developmental growth, and what specific organizational characteristics play the most important role in fostering such environments?

3. What staff requirements (qualifications and training) are necessary in providing environments that foster youth development?

4. What programmatic activities or strategies are best suited to motivate and engage youth in these settings long enough for the programs to have an impact?

5. What kinds of work experiences are available to youth, and which seem likely to help or hinder youth development?

6. Which of the populations served by JTPA programs are most likely to benefit from developmentally oriented programming?

7. How can programs incorporate developmentally oriented programming into the current JTPA system?

This is an ambitious agenda. Since this phase of the project was to last only one year, we limited our efforts to laying the groundwork for answering each of the full range of questions rather than seeking full answers to a smaller subset of the questions. The resulting work and the body of this report should therefore be considered a first step in defining the direction in which the

JTPA system should move in order to create programs that facilitate growth toward a socially constructive adulthood.

The workplan included the following components. First, we convened a panel of experts in the areas of youth programming and adolescent development, for the purpose of identifying the critical developmental areas in youth's lives that must be addressed by interventions in order to increase the prospects of having a positive impact on their life trajectories. The panel consisted of seven developmental psychologists (including two who run youth programs), two sociologists and one economist. This group met for one full day, discussing topics related to the research questions, then worked with P/PV staff to refine the ideas generated from the meeting. We also used this panel to establish a list of criteria against which programs could be measured in order to identify existing developmentally appropriate interventions.

After establishing the critical developmental areas and program features, we commissioned a group of experts to produce background papers that review relevant research and make recommendations about how these areas could be addressed by youth programs. Four papers were completed and contributed extensively to preparation of this report.[3] When sections of the following background papers are incorporated into the report, they are identified in the text:

- The paper prepared by Professor Robert Kegan, Maria Broderick and Nancy Popp (developmental psychologists at Harvard University) discusses how a developmental framework can be used to inform programs and analyzes how interventions can be expected to affect the developmental growth of adolescents. This paper also reviews some existing measures for assessing the developmental levels of youth coming into programs.

- The paper prepared by Dr. Charles Blakeney and Dr. Ronnie Blakeney (directors of the Institute for Clinical Developmental Psychology and Berkeley Academy for Youth Development) outlines the characteristics of adult/youth relationships that are essential to providing program settings that support the developmental growth of participants. The authors also address the type of staff training and development necessary for creating and maintaining this type of environment.

- The paper prepared by Dr. Martha Gephart (an organizational psychologist at the Social Science Research Council) discusses the organizational characteristics of program settings likely to enhance the social-psychological development of adolescent participants and examines how the organizational climate of service organizations can be assessed along these dimensions.

[3] These papers are not being published separately, but summaries may be requested from Public/Private Ventures.

- The final paper, prepared by Professor Jeylan Mortimer and Professor Michael Finch (sociologists at the University of Minnesota), reviews the kinds of work experiences youth have during the high school years and the changes in the characteristics of youth's work. This paper compares the work experiences of minority and nonminority youth and examines discernable effects on other areas of these youth's development.

We also conducted a reconnaissance of programs that aim specifically to enhance the overall development of disadvantaged adolescents and that are considered by experts to be successful. Programs were identified through consultation with knowledgeable individuals in the field of youth programming and through a search of published program evaluations. This activity resulted in an initial list of 35 programs across the nation. Using the critical program characteristics identified by the expert panel, we conducted telephone interviews with program directors and staff to document whether or not these programs contained these features.

This information was used to select five programs for case study in order to obtain information about the strategies and practical implications for addressing youth development needs in program settings. The criteria used to select programs were: inclusion of developmental practices; a focus on serving adolescents from disadvantaged backgrounds; and variation in the type of interventions. Since the ultimate goal of this project is to explore ways to improve youth employability by addressing developmental needs in the federal employment and training system, we further narrowed the list to those programs that explicitly link their activities in some way to youth employment and/or training using strategies that could work within the parameters of the JTPA system.

One program, the Youth Opportunities Unlimited (YOU) demonstration site in San Diego, was included despite its short time in operation because this demonstration represents a major effort by DOL to provide comprehensive youth programming through community-based initiatives. The other programs studied were The Young Adult Learning Academy (YALA) in New York, an alternative school and occupational training program; Manhattan Valley, an independent community-based youth-serving organization in New York with a wide range of program initiatives; DeLaSalle Education Center, an alternative school with occupational training components located in Kansas City, which is being widely replicated through the National Diffusion Network; and the Milwaukee Community Service Corps, an urban youth corps based in Milwaukee, which is a work-based program and part of a larger demonstration of youth service corps.[4]

[4] Short program descriptions are included in Appendix A.

The information generated by the panel of experts, background papers and case studies has been synthesized to produce this report, which proceeds as follows: Chapter II briefly examines the role development plays in youth employability, and lays out a developmental framework from which employment programs can be examined. Chapters III and IV focus on the specific program features considered critical for providing environments that can enhance youth development. Some of these features are congruent with ones that are characterized as "best practices" in well-run programs; however, here they are analyzed in light of their potential to foster youth development when they are part of a program strategy explicitly oriented toward increasing maturity rather than skills. Chapter V considers the current JTPA system in light of these critical features; and Chapter VI recommends ways to begin incorporating practices into the JTPA system that could improve effectiveness by more directly promoting youth development.

II. How Does Social-Psychological Development Affect Labor Market Success

Requirements For Labor Market Success

The goal of employment and training programs, whether for youth or for adults, is to position the participant for long-term labor market success. This is the benchmark against which individual programs should be measured, and the standard by which social policy initiatives should be judged. Therefore, the strategies used must be reasonably expected to result in a level of preparation that is sufficient to sustain employment for the long term. Simpler, less expensive strategies could be used to quickly place a client into an available job; however, these strategies often result in inadequate preparation, failure in the labor market and return to the employment and training system.

In order for the JTPA system to move toward more effective strategies for labor market preparation, there must be a fuller understanding of what individuals require in order to sustain employment, and how they acquire these characteristics. To achieve this requires, first, identification of the changing requirements of the labor force and, second, development of effective strategies for meeting these requirements. Great progress has been made toward accomplishing the first task; this report represents a step toward finding ways to accomplish the second.

Over the past few years, work on the first task has been exemplified by the SCANS commission.[5] The commission's study and a number of other efforts (for example, Barton and Kirsch, 1990; Carnevale et al., 1988; and Johnston and Packer, 1987) focus on the skills and competencies demanded by employers, particularly for the types of jobs that have the potential to provide stable employment over the long term, either alone or as steps in a career ladder.

The types of competencies increasingly being stressed by employers go well beyond basic literacy skills. There is general agreement that reading, writing and math skills are essential for almost any type of employment. But there are now greater demands for more complex cognitive skills in employees, including problem-solving, reasoning, transferable learning skills and decision-

[5] This commission was set up by the U.S. Department of Labor for the express purpose of detailing the competencies needed in the current labor market, and issued its first report in 1991.

making (Barton and Kirsch, 1990; U.S. Department of Labor, 1991). The shift away from manufacturing jobs into service sector and highly technical occupations has resulted in increased demand for interpersonal skills, such as oral communication, listening and the ability to work in teams (Carnevale et al., 1988; U.S. Department of Labor, 1991). And personal maturity--self-esteem, responsibility, reliability and self-discipline--is now defined as necessary for labor market success.

In the growing literature on how to assist youth--particularly the disadvantaged--begin a productive lifetime of employment, these requirements are variously defined as competencies, tasks, goals or needs; and debates continue over whether the education system or other social institutions should be held responsible for helping youth acquire this complex array of skills. But, whatever the manner in which these requirements are conceptualized or attained, it is clear that they span the entire range of areas in which a person develops during adolescence. It is no longer sufficient for an individual to attain a narrow set of vocational skills or competencies that in the past could guarantee employment at reasonable wages. The increasingly complex occupational demands of the current labor market now require levels of competence in a range of areas, from interpersonal skills to technical knowledge.

This is the most compelling reason for turning to the disciplines of psychology and sociology for theories and principles of adolescent development in trying to accomplish the second task--developing effective strategies for positioning young people for a lifetime of labor market success. Past strategies for increasing the occupational success of youth have been based, in large part, on adult training programs. These programs adopt an instrumental approach to teaching concrete, basic skills that economic analyses have shown to be related to employment rates and wages. Yet this approach, overall, has failed with the young people most at risk of persistent employment problems.

We need to take a broader approach to intervening in youth's lives, an approach based on the understanding that during the adolescent years personalities unfold, and modes of thinking and relating to the social world begin to mature. Programs to increase the employability of youth should be conceived of as ways to enhance or boost the natural process of human development that inevitably occurs during this stage of life. So, to design age-appropriate programs for young people in early or late stages of adolescence, we need as an underpinning a framework for understanding how teens mature in the physical, cognitive, emotional, interpersonal/social and moral domains, since all of these domains are implicated in developing a youth's employability. Obviously, no single program, whatever its duration, is likely to have a significant impact in all the areas of development for any individual. But the potential must exist in programs for participants to benefit in whatever areas they do

need to develop. The next section presents a framework to be used in examining employment and training programs for their developmental potential.

A Developmental Framework

A number of theoretical approaches can be taken to understanding the process of development that occurs during adolescence: psychoanalytic, cognitive structuralist, symbolic interactionist, social learning, etc. The differences among these theories are less important for our purposes than their one critical similarity: the consensus that the social environment plays a critical role in shaping an individual's path to a healthy, productive adulthood.

If adolescents are to move from the less mature and responsible ways of thinking and acting that are a natural part of childhood to the more mature and responsible judgments and activities that are the hallmark of a socially productive adulthood, certain supports for development must be present in the environment. Some of the supports that are important across the domains of development are physical safety, healthy relationships with adults, healthy relationships with peers, opportunities to acquire and practice the range of skills needed in different roles, and role models among peers and adults. The presence or absence and the quality of these supports in the environment will significantly affect the trajectory of development for all adolescents.

Different theorists would place different emphases on one or more of these social supports relative to the others, but in every formulation of notions about how youth become socialized and adopt the practices and beliefs valued by society, the **interaction** between the individual and his or her social environment is critical. In the natural course of human development, most individuals actively seek that interaction. Thus, development of some kind occurs, no matter what the individual's circumstances. But the internalized habits and values that result from that interaction are shaped by the level of support and the kinds of challenges and opportunities offered by the social environment. Psychoanalytic theorists emphasize the need for healthy relationships with parents and peers (e.g., Freud, Erikson); cognitive developmental theorists emphasize opportunities to practice increasingly complex cognitive tasks (e.g., Piaget, Kohlberg); symbolic interactionist theorists emphasize the opportunities to take different social roles and see the self and situations from other perspectives (e.g., Mead); and social learning theorists emphasize the need for social models that demonstrate the links between behavior and its resulting rewards or punishments (e.g., Bandura). Theorists from each group would posit a different underlying mechanism that leads to internalization and socialization into the culture; nevertheless, they all agree that the social environment can impede or support the process, depending on the opportunities and supports it contains.

But what are the practical implications of the social environment's impact on the employability of at-risk youth? There are certain transitions adolescents need to make to become employable, and each area of growth must be supported by certain characteristics in the environment. Since the social context of poverty often constrains the developmental supports present in the environment, many at-risk youth can be delayed or constrained in the trajectory they follow toward maturity. When this occurs in one or more domains, there are direct consequences for the attainment of one or more of the necessary, broad range of skills required for labor market success. Understanding this process will help inform the design of interventions aimed at helping these youth become "job ready." The next section explores the constraining effects of high-risk environments on youth development, and the implications for employability.

Developmental Goals[6]

The focus of this section is the risk factors associated with impoverished environments. The intention is to provide examples of how the lack of supports for development in the social environment can impede young people's growth. This is not meant to imply that no supports can be found in these social environments; many are and young people benefit from them. However, the aim of this report is to examine the difficulties encountered when the necessary supports are absent.

Physical Development: In adolescence, youth undergo changes in size and sexual maturity that have direct implications for their physical well-being. The goal of development in this area is good health status as well as appropriate knowledge, attitudes and behaviors that will ensure future health. In order for youth to adopt healthy attitudes and behaviors in this area, their culture must provide education and information about exercise, nutrition, effective contraceptive practices, and the effects of alcohol, drugs and cigarette smoking (Pittman and Wright, 1991). The most common sources of this information are the family, the schools, peers and adult role models.

Disadvantaged youth are at risk of poor physical development and health due to malnutrition, use of alcohol or drugs, and/or risky sexual behavior. Even if accurate information on nutrition, exercise, drugs and safe sexual practices is available, many of the peers and adult role models of teens in poor communities practice behaviors at odds with this information. When these unhealthy attitudes and behaviors are adopted by teens, their success in the labor market can be hampered by the negative effects of ill health, drug use and early parenthood on both job performance and reliability.

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[6] This section is in part an adaptation of a section of the background paper prepared by Blakeney and Blakeney.

Cognitive Development: During adolescence, the most important change in the cognitive arena is the transition from thinking that is concrete and based in the here and now, to thinking that is increasingly abstract and provides the basis for systematic thinking, problem-solving, and the generalization of ideas and lessons from one context to another. The goals of development in this area are good written and oral skills, and the ability to plan and evaluate, make decisions and solve problems (Pittman and Wright, 1991). The social environment must provide experiences that stimulate, support and reward cognitive problem-solving. Youth must have opportunities to learn and test new ideas and skills and must be encouraged to value abstract and systematic thinking. Traditionally, schools are the most common source of opportunities to apply cognitive skills, but in most cases, these opportunities are being applied to material that has little relevance to youth's lives. Therefore, youth must be supported in the family or other social contexts in efforts to acquire and practice problem-solving skills in other areas of life (including work).

The cognitive development of disadvantaged youth can be constrained by limited stimulation in their social environment and low quality in their educational experience. These youth often attend schools with the poorest instructional and retention records. Further, children from poor backgrounds are often placed in lower academic tracks in schools (regardless of ability levels) where teachers' expectations are low. In comparison, high-track students are expected to learn to reason logically, think critically, collect and analyze information, and master problem-solving (Oakes, 1985). This difference in expectations has a clear effect on the type of stimulation and opportunities to practice the more abstract cognitive skills required in the labor market. When youth are not challenged to think systematically and abstractly, they can be confined to less mature, concrete thinking, unable to visualize beyond the "here and now." This limits youth's abilities to discern patterns, form hypotheses and make generalizations, which can lead to poor decision-making, problem-solving and reasoning--qualities in high demand by employers.

Emotional Development: As teenagers move toward more abstract ways of thinking, they must come to understand the often tumultuous feelings associated with this stage of life and use this understanding to shape their identity and guide their choices. Before adolescents take this step, they often "look to their teachers and parents as if they're acting like little kids again: throwing tantrums, having [fights, or] ignoring danger" (Blakeney and Blakeney, 1992:4). Teenagers must have access to settings where they have opportunities to acknowledge feelings, and balance feelings and thought in order to control impulses and shape behavior. Schools now provide few opportunities for this type of development. Rather, family settings, peer groups and social settings--such as clubs, teams or other organized activities with adult guidance--are the best contexts for this type of growth.

Youth living in poverty often grow up in single-parent families, with the one available parent often bearing the burdens of health problems, economic hardship and a dangerous neighborhood. The stress of these conditions can constrain the parent's ability to provide the nurturance and support that can help youth learn to understand and control their emotions. Unhealthy peer groups, such as gangs, can encourage youth to act impulsively in response to feelings like anger or helplessness. And poor communities often lack the resources for sports leagues or youth organizations where, with guidance, young people can naturally experience the process of recognizing their feelings, controlling their impulses to act, and shaping their behavior so that it is appropriate to the activity in which they are engaged. When this growth does not occur, youth may engage in inappropriate behaviors in the work setting, such as bursts of anger resulting in fights or insubordination--behaviors that clearly inhibit the youth's ability to cooperate and work as a member of a team.

Interpersonal/Social Development: Adolescents must move from being a dependent member within a family and a peer in a play group to becoming an interdependent and responsible member of adult society. This transition is one of the most difficult in adolescence and requires balancing the competing, and often conflicting, demands of relationships with adults and relationships with peers. Teenagers must move away from dependence on parents and adults to establish themselves as adults in their own right and in relationship to peers; they must develop a sense of themselves as part of a team. The goal in this area of development is the ability to develop friendships and relationships through communication, cooperation, negotiation and empathy, and to acquire the coping skills required in adult interactions--such as the ability to adapt and assume responsibility (Pittman and Wright, 1991). Clearly, in this arena of development, the social environment must be rich in opportunities to experience relationships with a variety of people, under a range of circumstances, so that adolescents can both develop a sense of identity and worth, and learn the rights and responsibilities associated with the roles they must take on as adults. This means that the family, schools and the larger community must contain a mix of people and experiences that reflect the situations into which adolescents will move. The environment must present opportunities to practice responsible participation; to experience working as a member of a team with others in similar, as well as different, roles; to practice cooperation and negotiation skills; and to practice taking the perspective of others who are different from oneself.

Particularly in urban areas, many youth live in high-risk communities where the population is almost exclusively poor and mostly minority. In such communities, there is little variety in the occupations of those who do work, and there are often few community activities or businesses owned by neighborhood residents. And, as mentioned earlier, there are often inadequate resources for community centers, leagues, after-school clubs, youth groups or

other activities. Therefore, youth are not challenged to work cooperatively with others or to begin to take on leadership roles, such as team captain, club president or event organizer. This can result in an inability to consider one's own point of view and another's simultaneously; to understand the expectations and obligations required to maintain mutual interpersonal relationships; and to understand one's inner qualities and motivations. This can constrain youth's abilities to work effectively in teams, to act in leadership roles, and to practice the art of negotiation and cooperation--skills that are needed in today's work force.

Moral Development: In this domain, development for adolescents consists of moving from a primary concern with themselves and their own needs and wants to a broader concern for larger groups and the wider society, and for their roles and responsibilities in them. The goal in this area of development is an ability to balance rights and responsibilities, justice and compassion, and to understand and resolve ethical problems. The adolescent must come to understand the community's values and needs, and want to be involved in efforts that contribute to the good of larger groups. In order to reach this goal, the social contexts of youth's lives must contain opportunities to practice decision-making in a safe environment with support and guidance, to recognize the social perspective of others and to identify problems as moral conflicts that must be resolved through thought and concern for others. The family, schools and community must present opportunities for youth to see themselves as full community members and participants who employ a sense of justice (fairness), caring and responsibility in their actions.

Youth from areas of concentrated poverty often have few opportunities to experience a sense of membership in a community that operates in a fair manner. Most schools are traditional bureaucratic structures that treat youth as passive rather than active participants in their education; enforcement of uniformity often leads to inequitable treatment. Minority youth are often exposed to unfair treatment based on race; and economically impoverished communities represent constant reminders of social class inequities in our society. When young people do not see themselves as members of a community of equals, it can be difficult for them to consider the consequences of their decisions for that community or group. These issues might seem unrelated to the skills needed in the work force, but in order to make decisions based on others' expectations, an individual must feel obligated to meet those expectations (for example, an employer's expectations that the employee will arrive on time, be reliable, follow a supervisor's orders, etc.). In social groups where youth do see themselves as important members (for example, gangs or athletic teams), they will begin to evidence a concern for that community in their decisions and actions. In order to make judgments based on the rules and expectations of other social groups (e.g., businesses, neighborhoods, com-

munities), young people need the opportunity to act as equal participants or "citizens" in this type of group.

Supporting Development for Youth in High-Risk Environments[7]

When the types of opportunities and experiences that provide the fuel for positive development are not available to youth, their progress along the path of development can be delayed or seriously constrained. This is more than simply a matter of youth not knowing enough and needing more **instruction** on values, how to think or how to see things from another perspective. As the previous discussion illustrates, development is the process of knowing or understanding things differently, through life experience. Through the teen years, most individuals move gradually from an egocentric, short-term perspective to a more complicated perspective that takes into account the feelings and positions of, and the consequences for, others. Greater maturity in each of the domains (the developmental goals) represents a different kind of thinking or judgment than occurs in earlier stages.

Moving from the less mature type of thinking and judgment to the more complex and mature manner of thought required of responsible workers requires a **transformation** in adolescents that changes their basic way of understanding their commitments and responsibilities. It is this transformation (or internalization) of perspective that:

> *has greater potential to lead to long-term and* **self-sustained** *changes in the ways [young people] perceive of and respond to work. Only with this more fundamental shift as a basic goal of programming efforts can the more particular goals of job-preparedness be accomplished in a* **durable, ongoing** *way (Kegan et al., 1992; emphasis added).*

So, for example, many teens have information about nutrition, drugs and sex--but this often seems irrelevant to their behavior. The goal of an intervention should be to **transform** the way young people think about the connection between risky behavior and their other responsibilities (to their families, their work colleagues, their boss or their company, for example) so that they consistently make good choices about their actions. In the realm of social interactions, adolescents need more than to be told that fighting at work, or telling their boss what they really think of him, is wrong. They need life experience that will help them come to a new way of understanding themselves and their emotions so that they can recognize the feeling of anger, control the impulse to act on it, and develop another strategy for dealing with anger that allows them to express their displeasure with a situation but still maintain their capac-

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[7] This section is based on the argument presented in the background paper by Kegan, Broderick and Popp on the need to understand development and the role played by programs as **transformational** experiences.

ity to work as a responsible member of a team and fulfill their work obligations.

The notion of development as a process of transformation in the way youth understand the world is of central importance to designing interventions that affect developmental outcomes. Our design concerns must be about more than external behavior and **what** adolescents know; they must be about **how** adolescents understand themselves and the world. And the period between 12 and 20 is a time when normal development consists of the gradual transformation to more complex ways of understanding. When adolescents are not meeting the expectations our culture has of them, it is important to understand why:

> *If we think of these expectations as primarily about* **behavior**, *then the adolescent who cannot meet them will be seen as* **misbehaving** *or* **incompetent**, *someone who cannot* **do** *what he or she should. If we think of these expectations as primarily about* **feelings**, *then the adolescent who cannot meet them will be seen as* **disturbed** *or* **mentally ill** *(Kegan et al., 1992:28).*

The underlying assumption is that the adolescent who is not acting according to social expectations understands things in the same way as an adolescent who **is** meeting expectations, but is incompetent or disturbed and chooses to act inappropriately.

> *The result is that [this] . . . adolescent gets seen as a loser, an incompetent person, a "deviant" and one who, by reason of stubbornness, inability or illness, is unable to come through for us, evoking our pity or hostility. But there may be something wrong and dangerous in this way of thinking . . . If the adolescent does not yet have the capacity to [think at the more complex level], his or her difficulty might be more a matter of* **not understanding** *the rules of the game rather than an unwillingness to play, a refusal to play, or an inability to play the game (Kegan et al., 1992:28-29).*

Teenagers whose experience has been in an environment where they have not had the supports necessary for development are at much higher risk of not making the transition to the more complex understanding of society and its expectations of them.

Before youth make this transition in the way they understand themselves and the world around them, they might exhibit the kinds of behavior that allow them to maintain a job. But this is because they are **complying** with what they perceive to be **external** rules. This compliance can be easily disrupted if other emotions or desires outweigh the fear of the consequences for not complying, or if an external monitor of behavior is not present. If, on the other

hand, youth come to understand their relationship to others and their obligations and responsibilities from the more complicated perspective of their role as part of a team, then they become **internally** motivated to **cooperate** because they see the **value** in doing so. This is the type of motivation that is **more likely to sustain over the long term** and serve to make individuals successful in the world of work.

This is recognized both by many professionals who work with these youth in program settings and by many researchers. For example, program staff repeatedly observe that teaching skills (basic and occupational) is appropriate in training programs, but that the behaviors required for success in the work setting cannot be taught--what their programs need to accomplish is to "transform" the youth, their value systems and their mode of social functioning.[8] Researchers in career guidance and preparation now focus on the need for helping youth develop "personal flexibility," which includes academic skills, adaptability and responsibility (e.g., self-discipline and reliability) in order to prepare them for successful employment in the arena of a rapidly changing occupational structure (Herr and Cramer, 1992). This type of change can come about only:

> *when developmental readiness meshes with realistic opportunities to succeed in personally valued roles and areas of competence; when opportunities are coupled with support and positive regard from psychologically meaningful others; when there are concomitant shifts in self-image and self-regard; when the new (or future) identity required is not too discrepant from the present one; and when the psychological costs do not outweigh the benefits to the self (Musick, 1991:127, quoted in Gephart, 1992).*

Stimulating this type of developmental transformation in at-risk youth, who have previously lacked the necessary supports in the context of their everyday lives, has many implications for the design of the programs that seek to improve their life chances: "These implications include how we formulate the kind of information we give to adolescents . . . so that it will be best understood by them; how we train program leaders to view their roles as facilitators of both immediate learning and longer-term development; and how . . . programs are set up as contexts with a balance of appropriate supports and challenges . . ." (Kegan et al., 1992:3). A shift from viewing programs as strategies for increasing the **amount** of information youth have, to strategies that seek to strengthen the **process** of developmental growth, has direct bearing on the nature of employment interventions. The exploration of these im-

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[8] This issue was raised repeatedly by staff in the programs we visited and is becoming more prominent in the literature on youth programs.

plications will yield important lessons about the features programs must contain when "transformation" is seen as the desired outcome.

Necessary Preconditions for Creating Transformational Environments

The information collected and reviewed during all the phases of this project (the expert panel, background papers and case studies) converged on three essential program features that are necessary preconditions for creating and maintaining the type of environment that can stimulate in adolescents transformational changes that are likely to lead to sustained positive outcomes.

First, programs must be designed and run with a basic understanding of how adolescents make sense of the world and their experiences; and intervention efforts must target the appropriate level for each participant. Lasting progress in the different domains of maturation will occur as a result of engaging youth at their existing level of development, and alternating support of their strengths with challenges that spur growth. This dictates that programs have adequate methods for **assessing** youth's developmental status as they begin participation; offer **activities** that **engage** youth so that they remain long enough to benefit from the intervention and respond to challenges to redefine their thinking and behavior; make **clear** the expectations of youth and **goals** of the program; and have mechanisms for **tracking** the progress of youth toward reaching goals.

Second, if programs are to facilitate growth that will yield positive outcomes, the single most critical source of the support adolescents must have is *stable, caring* relationships with *adults*. The characteristics of the adult staff in a program, as well as the amount and kind of training they receive, can play a critical role in the transformation of the way youth think, make decisions, solve problems, behave in relation to others, and view their roles and obligations. Participants' relationships with program staff are one of the best sources of the developmental supports that have often been scarce in the lives of at-risk youth.

Finally, programs must be structured and managed in a fashion that promotes and sustains the activities and relationships that enhance or boost the process of development that occurs during adolescence. The organizational environment in which program activities are carried out has both direct and indirect effects on the quality of services and on the recruitment, retention, motivation and performance of staff. The climate within which services are offered plays a significant role in the creation of a transformational environment for youth.

The next two chapters focus on each of these areas by synthesizing, in turn, information from developmental and organizational research and the program case studies. The discussions outline what is entailed in meeting each of the conditions necessary for creating transformational environments, and provide examples of how these conditions are being met by existing youth-serving organizations. The final chapters of the report discuss the JTPA system in light of each of these critical features, and recommend ways to improve these conditions in employment and training interventions.

III. Assessment And Engagement In Program Settings

In order to provide experiences that are appropriate for the age or developmental level of participants, programs must be structured so that the activities in which youth engage both support their strengths and challenge them to grow in their areas of weakness. One of the basic principles from developmental theory that is relevant to program design is that it is through the balance between support and challenge that the transformative type of development we seek can occur: "People grow best where they experience continuously an ingenious blend of support and challenge" (Kegan et al., 1992:30). Environments that hold too much challenge without adequate support are "toxic, promoting defensiveness and constriction" (Kegan et al., 1992:30). When youth are challenged to meet expectations that are based on levels of cognitive, social and emotional maturity that are beyond what they possess, and are not receiving the necessary support from their environment to help them meet these challenges, they experience failure, which is painful and can generate feelings of anger, helplessness and futility that characterize many at-risk youth. On the other hand, if youth are not adequately challenged, they will experience boredom and disengagement from activities, which will ultimately result in their failure to meet the expectations we hold of them.

Interventions that seek to enhance the developmental growth of at-risk youth in order to increase their capacity to take on the responsibilities and commitments critical to **sustained** success in the world of work should be thought of as **transitional** environments where youth are challenged to grow and that at the same time provide the developmental supports not provided by their experience in more traditional institutions, such as families or schools. These interventions must start with an adolescent at the level of development where he or she is, focus activities on the goal of helping adolescents change the way they understand their role in the world, and provide the proper supports for a period long enough to allow youth to undergo this transition.

This approach has major implications for programmatic design. Programs must establish methods for realistically assessing youth's capacities when they come to programs, so they can structure experiences in developmentally appropriate ways. The goals that programs have for participants must be shaped by the actual strengths youth have, and by appropriate expectations of what they can accomplish in developmental terms. The program activities in which youth participate should be organized to sustain participation by balancing support of their strengths and interests with experiences that challenge them to move toward more mature thought and judgment, and, hence, behavior. Finally, programs must have methods and procedures for tracking

participants' progress toward meeting the goals that are set for them. In this way, staff **and** youth are made aware of successes and progress toward goals, and adjustments can be made to preserve the continuing need to both support and challenge youth.

Assessment And Goals[9]

In order to design and run interventions that take advantage of the developmental process to help youth achieve positive life outcomes, program developers and operators must familiarize themselves with the range of levels of adolescent maturity across the different domains, and have methods to assess the fit between expectations and adolescents' ability to meet them. These steps will significantly improve the program's capacity to provide the proper balance of support and challenge that drives the process of development. Individual assessment is also the key to tracking youth's progress in a program, and, thus, is also a necessity for program evaluation.

A developmental assessment of individual adolescents requires collecting data on **how** they reason (about their job, their responsibilities and others, and about how they matter); how they act; and how they interact with others. Developmental researchers have constructed a number of measurement instruments designed specifically to gauge, either at one point in time or over time, levels of maturity in the emotional, cognitive, intrapersonal, interpersonal and moral domains of development. While most of these measures are appropriate for use in programmatic settings, the majority are based on structured interview techniques that are implemented by individuals trained in developmental theory. For example, measures developed for use in risk-prevention programs[10] involve interviewing youth about hypothetical and real life dilemmas to understand **how** an adolescent defines the problem (for example, fighting or drug use), generates solutions, chooses and implements a strategy, and evaluates the potential outcomes. Other measures have been developed that measure adolescents' levels of maturity in moral decision-making,[11] intrapersonal characteristics[12] (such as self-esteem, self-concept), and cognitive and interpersonal activities.[13] All of these measures deal directly with the areas of development that need to be considered as part of the purview of employment

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[9] This section is a synthesis of the assessment discussion in the background paper prepared by Kegan, Broderick and Popp and an analysis of the information collected from case studies.

[10] The measures discussed by Kegan et al. are those of Robert Selman and a group of researchers working in risk and violence prevention interventions (Selman et al., in press).

[11] Kegan et al. cite interview measures from the work of Power, Higgins and Kohlberg (1989).

[12] Kegan et al. cite the Washington University Sentence Completion Test (WUSCT) used in the work of Hauser, Powers and Noam (1991).

[13] Kegan et al. cite the Subject-Object Interview measures used in a number of studies of youth interventions.

training for at-risk youth, and can be adapted to focus even more specifically on employment-related issues.

However, with the exception of one of the measures reviewed for this report, all the measures involve instruments that must be administered and scored by trained individuals. Therefore, of central importance to promoting youth development in employment training interventions is constructing measures that can be used throughout the JTPA system by staff who are not necessarily formally schooled and trained in developmental theory. This is the only strategy that will permit us to begin measuring directly the impact of programs on developmental outcomes, and thus assess the effectiveness of particular program strategies and programs.

Despite the fact that they do not use standardized developmental measures, all the developmentally based programs we reviewed were implemented with an awareness of the importance of **comprehensive** assessment, and of the need to set **explicit intermediate goals** toward which each participant could work.

The staff at each of these programs have developed a strategy for assessing applicants' level of "readiness" and "motivation" for participation in the program. They have had varying degrees of success with their strategies (some developed through a lengthy process of trial and error), but the availability of more standard, easily administered developmental assessment tools would support their efforts.

This is best illustrated by a brief examination of the attention and effort devoted to this area by these programs:

Manhattan Valley: This program provides a wide range of services at various sites to youth aged 14 to 24, and serves approximately 300 youth a day. Youth become involved in the program either directly through the main site or through one of four school-based programs. No matter what the point of entry, each participant goes through a comprehensive intake and assessment process that culminates in agreement on clear goals for the youth to work toward.

This process consists of a series of seemingly informal conversations (approximately three to five) between counselors and youth, designed to "engage" participants, elicit background information, identify life issues and needs, and provide a relatively comprehensive understanding of the youth's family situation, peer-group activities, work experiences, etc. Counselors are provided with forms to record all this information for each participant's case file. The information is then used by counselors to design activities appropriate to the youth's needs, and a development plan--with the **involvement** of the youth--that sets intermediate steps to

becoming "job ready" (such as social interaction skills and leadership skills). The program staff emphasize the need to recognize and develop the strengths that youth possess when they arrive and "not just focus on deficits."

Young Adult Learning Academy (YALA): This program is essentially a consortium of eight on-site community-based organizations (CBOs) that focus on occupational training, and an alternative school designed to prepare out-of-school youth with very low levels of literacy skills for the GED. During each program cycle, about 300 youth are enrolled at the school (about 35 per CBO). Intake into the program is through the CBOs, where counselors determine the eligibility of applicants (which includes standardized tests of basic skills, income eligibility, etc.). Eligible applicants are required to go through lengthy interviews with the counselor from the CBO. The counselors have each developed their own interview process, but they all include eliciting basic information about family background, health, family structure, psychiatric history, substance abuse, etc., which is seen as relevant to successful participation. But the counselors also use the interviews as opportunities to assess applicants' levels of "motivation" and "commitment," in order to gauge the appropriateness of the program for each individual. After participants are selected, they are required to attend a one-week orientation where further basic skills assessments are made through testing, and where staff and youth engage in group-building activities, rule- and goal-setting, etc.

Milwaukee Community Service Corps: This program is an urban service corps that offers education and occupational training to out-of-school youth in a team-oriented, work-based setting. Participants work in crews of eight to 10 youth with one crew supervisor. Currently, 45 youth are enrolled. Applicants to the program go through an initial intake process similar to applying for a job. If applicants meet program eligibility criteria, they are interviewed by staff about their background and what they expect from the program, in part to gauge their level of motivation. As with YALA, a determination is made about the appropriateness of the program for applicants based on their strengths **and** needs. Once an applicant is selected, he or she works with an education staff person to design an education plan and goals, and meets with the work project coordinator, who uses the applicant's interest statement and work history (if applicable) to choose the first work assignment.

DeLaSalle Education Center: This program is an alternative school that includes an occupational component for out-of-school youth, most of whom have some history of involvement with the juvenile justice system. About 660 youth enrolled in DeLaSalle during the last program year. Incoming students participate in a lengthy (two- to three-week) orienta-

tion and assessment period. During this period, students are given the Adult Basic Education Level (ABEL) exam to assess their basic skills. Students are also assessed for their "levels of emotional, mental and physical risk" and for levels of self-esteem, self-concept and family support through use of survey instruments developed by program staff. After the assessments are completed, counselors are assigned to students and are responsible for deciding on the best course for the student to take through the program (all schedules are individualized), and for arranging any necessary referrals and/or support services. Each student then works with assigned teachers to negotiate contracts, which set goals for every subject based on the teachers' assessments of students' strengths and weaknesses.

Youth Opportunities Unlimited (YOU), San Diego: This comprehensive program is based in a Boys/Girls Club in the barrio of San Diego, with an alternative school as the focal component, and is part of a larger DOL demonstration. All participants were supposed to go through a centralized assessment process through an intake center at the Boys/Girls Club, but local politics and regulations made it necessary to change the implementation plan and move the alternative school to another site. Participants enter the program either through the Boys/Girls Club or through the school. Participants at both the school and the club go through an assessment process. At the Boys/Girls Club, participants are interviewed by intake counselors, who fill out a "barriers list" that includes such risk factors as gang membership, substance abuse and education difficulties, and who present service and activity options to youth to determine their interests. Counselors then work with youth to design a service plan and set goals that are recorded in a development plan. At the alternative school, youth are interviewed to collect information about their background, social service agency involvement and school history. They also complete a survey designed to assess learning styles and skill levels. At "consultation team" meetings, program staff develop individual student plans that include counseling activities. This particular assessment process is less comprehensive than in the other programs, since it has been more narrowly defined by the education system in which the school is situated. However, students who participate in both the school and Boys/Girls Club also go through the assessment process for the nonschool part of the program.

Some general lessons can be drawn from these program practices. First, all these programs clearly place a high priority on assessing individuals' levels of maturity, strengths and needs as an integral part of the process of defining the goals and activities that are most appropriate for each individual. This priority is evident in the level of time and effort invested by all of the programs in this process. However, each program, and sometimes each counselor, has had to develop its own assessment practices, since developmental assessment in-

struments for use in program settings are not readily available. The assessments done in these programs are therefore very dependent on the ability of individual counselors to conduct what amounts to "clinical interviews" with each participant. The type, quality and usefulness of information elicited during the interview thus varies widely. The clearest contrast in the programs we visited is between the four established programs and the one-year-old demonstration program in San Diego. The four older programs have been operating long enough for program staff to learn from experience how to assess participants in various areas, and how to use this information to set goals and design activities. But the YOU program is still going through the process of trial and error; as a result, assessments are limited to completion of a narrowly defined check list of risk behaviors.

If this type of intervention is to be implemented on any scale in the JTPA system, an investment needs to be made in developing assessment instruments that can be easily administered in program settings by staff of various backgrounds and education levels. The availability of these instruments would facilitate screening, goal-setting and planning service strategies, as well as allow for accurate, intermediate assessments of participants' developmental progress. Better measures in these areas are also instrumental for more effective implementation, management and adjustment.

Tracking Progress

Once goals are established with a youth, programs must have a strategy for monitoring the progress the youth makes toward attaining them. To ensure that the program is a setting where balance is maintained between support and challenge, program staff must be aware of changes in youth's abilities and accomplishments, and adjust expectations and activities accordingly. When participants demonstrate an increase in maturity in their interpersonal relationships and their decision-making, come to better understand their responsibilities and acquire higher levels of basic or occupational skills, they should be placed in roles and activities that allow them to exercise these abilities and continue to mature. On the other hand, if participants exhibit behaviors that show they are unable to meet expectations (for example, by breaking rules, failing at work or education tasks, or becoming "disengaged" from the program), the appropriateness of expectations should be reassessed and adjustments should be made in these adolescents' program activities or participation to provide a greater degree of support.

Each of the five exemplary programs we visited includes a mechanism for regularly tracking participants' progress. However, the development areas that are assessed and the assessment strategies used vary in comprehensiveness and effectiveness.

Manhattan Valley: Youth who participate in the school-based components of this program have daily contact with counselors and other staff. At minimum, youth sign in each day at the Manhattan Valley "room" located in the school so that the counselors can have informal contact with them. The counselors are also responsible for monitoring participants' school attendance and performance (through progress reports from teachers). Counselors schedule longer meetings or counseling sessions with participants when they feel such action is warranted. Youth in the occupational training, teen parenting, leadership training and other components also have assigned counselors who are responsible for tracking their progress and addressing any necessary changes. Each participant's file contains treatment plans and case notes updated by the counselors. Every Friday, all the counselors from the different components meet and conduct "case conference" sessions to discuss youth who are having difficulties and plan how to address the situation. Participants with the most serious of counseling needs are assigned to the director of counseling. The staff rely on this system to ensure that no youth gets "lost" in the program.

Young Adult Learning Academy (YALA): While youth are attending the alternative-school component of this program, their performance is closely monitored. Attendance is taken during each class period and reports are given to the counselors from the CBOs by the end of each day. Participants who skip classes or miss a day are contacted by their counselors. The counselors are also responsible for providing any referrals or counseling needed by youth. Progress in acquiring basic skills is monitored through the use of standardized testing (TABE) and portfolio assessments. Employment competencies are assessed by the teachers responsible for the in-class occupational training. Once participants move to the work experience component of the program, the amount of monitoring and counseling varies, depending on the CBO with which the youth is associated. Manhattan Valley is associated with YALA and offers one of the strongest counseling and monitoring components (see above).

Milwaukee Community Service Corps: Performance in both the education and work components of this program is monitored daily. Teaching staff and work crew supervisors rate youth's performance on a five-point scale that reflects attitude, interpersonal interaction, academic progress or work skills, contribution to the work project, behavioral problems, level of attention, etc. Each day, these ratings are shared with the participant. Although the ratings are based on staff judgments rather than formal instruments, staff believe they provide a useful way to track individual progress and to provide individualized attention and feedback to corpsmembers. Corpsmembers also accumulate points for rule-breaking (e.g., lateness, absenteeism, fighting), which trigger staff actions (e.g.,

formal counseling, suspension, expulsion). Acquisition of employment competencies is recorded in a file kept for each corpsmember. The education coordinator informally tracks each corpsmember's progress toward education goals. The work coordinator tries to keep track of each corpsmember's accomplishments and activities in order to know how to organize work assignments, but expressed the belief that the program would be strengthened by the addition of a staff person to help with this responsibility.

DeLaSalle Education Center: This program has an extensive, formal assessment strategy based on the contracts negotiated with the participants and the knowledge each youth's counselor has of his/her progress. Attendance is monitored daily by counselors. Progress reports, filled out every nine weeks (about midway through a contract) by each teacher, record whether the student is on time in meeting the contract goals, and his/her level of academic, social and work skills. If necessary, contracts are renegotiated at this time. Counselors monitor the participants' progress and provide individual or group counseling as needed. Students' performance is discussed each week at staff meetings; when "students of concern" are identified, teachers and counselors hold special meetings. These youth may attend a special after-school program and receive extra attention from the counselors.

Youth Opportunities Unlimited (YOU), San Diego: This program has the most loosely formulated system of monitoring progress. Participants at the Boys/Girls Club are supposed to meet regularly with their case manager, but due to caseloads and start-up difficulties, this is not systematically done. For the most part, youth are expected to take responsibility for following their development plan and seeking out the case manager when they encounter difficulties. Students at the alternative school are monitored primarily for academic progress; other counseling or contact with staff depends on the teachers' or counselor's identification of some special need. The school added a counselor, whose main responsibility is to contact students and their parents when they do not come to school; the school director reported that this has made a significant difference in attendance. Because of the newness of this program and the implementation difficulties encountered, its practices for monitoring youth progress are the least comprehensive of the five programs.

In all four of the established programs we visited, there is a formal mechanism in place for monitoring youth's day-to-day progress; identifying those who are ready to move on to more challenging activities and roles; and identifying those who are experiencing difficulty meeting expectations. At the crudest level of measurement, this process has had the positive effect of prompting high daily attendance (80 to 85%), which indicates some degree of youth en-

gagement in the programs. In three of the four programs (Manhattan Valley, YALA and DeLaSalle), counselors are available to ensure that participants are being supported in their efforts, and, when youth are being challenged beyond their capacity to meet expectations, to provide extra attention or reassess youth's readiness to meet the goals that were established. The fourth program, the Milwaukee Community Service Corps, does not have a separate counselor available, but program staff take on this role with youth. The small size of this program makes this possible, since all staff know and have regular contact with each participant.

It is worth noting that the two largest programs, in addition to having relatively large counseling staffs, set aside formal meeting time each week to review the progress of individual participants. This contributes to these programs' capacity to provide environments that are both stimulating and supportive. Smaller programs can (and usually do) rely on informal mechanisms for sharing information among staff members about participants in order to respond to the variety of developmental maturity exhibited by youth at these ages. But larger programs run the risk of losing the capacity to deal with youth in an individualized way. Manhattan Valley and DeLaSalle have addressed this problem by ensuring that every participant has at least one counselor who is knowledgeable about all aspects of the youth's involvement in the program, and by devoting time and resources to establishing a weekly process for reviewing individual participant situations as a team.

What differentiates these program practices from those of traditional schools--and those of more traditional employment training programs--is not only the information collected, but the manner in which it is used. It is a relatively simple matter to implement procedures for tracking performance or attendance in a program on a regular basis. The more difficult (and more important) step is using the information about positive or negative performance as part of a regular, interactive process of shaping the program experiences of youth. Only this can ensure that youth receive the balance of demands and support critical to development--a feature often missing from their other experiences. This process also allows program operators to advance their knowledge about which strategies prove to be most effective. We turn now to a discussion of the content of these program experiences.

Engaging Youth In Programs

The purpose of balancing the amount of support and challenge in a youth intervention strategy is to create an environment that fosters the developmental transformation discussed in Chapter II. This type of transformation does not happen quickly. For programs to succeed, they must first successfully **engage** youth. That is, they must offer activities and/or features

that attract youth and draw them into the program. These activities must then be linked with the types of opportunities, supports and challenges that promote developmental growth. Thus we can attract adolescents to programs by appealing to their existing interests; and we can hold them in rich environments that build the appropriate supports and challenges into the experiences that attract them. This is the fundamental principle that underlies the design of **developmentally appropriate** interventions.

What activities can attract youth by addressing their immediate concerns, yet still provide the type of experience necessary for engagement and **development**? To some extent, the answer depends on the age and circumstances of the youth. At different stages of life, individuals are attracted by and focused on different activities. Since the key activities funded by employment and training programs are related to work and education, we will focus our attention on these topics.

During adolescence, youth begin to anticipate the roles they must take on as they become adults: spouse, parent, wage-earner, etc. In many cases, at-risk youth move prematurely into these roles before the way they think about the world has had time to catch up to responsibilities they have in their lives. In any case, part of what makes experiences appealing to young people is the opportunity to act, and to be treated, like the adults they are beginning to believe they are.

In the exemplary programs we studied, staff were nearly unanimous in citing the opportunity to work as the single most important factor in drawing youth to their programs. Program directors and staff reported that older youth are drawn by the potential of finding full-time employment through the programs, and younger adolescents are often initially seeking summer employment. Youth workers also cited opportunities to complete education or receive further training as important to the older out-of-school youth, and opportunities to participate in activities that would otherwise be unavailable (such as field trips to museums or restaurants, weekend or summer retreats and summer arts programs) as important to the younger in-school youth. (At DeLaSalle Education Center, which is primarily an alternative school, education and occupational training were believed to be most important, rather than work.)

Using Work to Enhance Youth Development

According to a growing body of research, working during the adolescent years can act as a catalyst to development in a number of important areas--if the work experience is of good quality. (See Smith and Gambone, 1992, and Mortimer and Finch, 1992, for reviews of this research.) Despite popular misconceptions, the types of jobs where adolescents typically enter the work force--in sales or food service, for example--have potential to offer the kind of experience that enhances youth development. The most important factors

related to developmental benefits from early work experience are the perceived capacity to use one's skills and abilities, and opportunities to learn new skills and abilities (e.g., Mortimer and Finch, 1992; Stern et al., 1990); youth who work in school- or programmatically supervised jobs are more likely to rate their jobs highly in these qualities. When youth have the opportunity to use their cognitive skills, believe they have the opportunity to learn from their jobs, and develop good relationships with adults at work, they are increasingly likely to develop a commitment to high standards at work (Stern et al., 1990), are more likely to value work (Mortimer and Finch, 1992), and are less likely to develop a sense of cynicism about the world of work (Stern et al., 1990). Youth's sense of "competency and efficacy is (also) fostered by having work that enables advancement opportunities and that is perceived as being rewarded well" (Mortimer and Finch, 1992:31). Unfortunately, minority and disadvantaged youth are significantly less likely to work during their teen years than are their nonminority, nondisadvantaged counterparts, and are therefore less likely to derive the developmental benefits work brings (Mortimer and Finch, 1992).

In the programs we examined, staff reported that since the potential for work and income acts as a powerful lure to the participants, staff can use this enticement as a starting point for working with youth in all of the areas that will come into play in their long-term success in the workplace (e.g., interpersonal skills, emotional maturity, cognitive skills and moral judgment). These programs have operationalized the developmental principle of engaging youth by offering an activity that meets their needs, while at the same time providing experiences that spur their growth in other areas.

For example, at Manhattan Valley, many youth contact the program because they want help finding a job. Before any youth begins to work with the job developer, a counselor will have met with the youth a number of times to assess his or her strengths and maturity. In the course of these meetings, counselors often find that there are other areas in which the youth need to grow before they are likely to sustain the behaviors critical to long-term employment. If participants are interested in a job, the counselors will talk with them about what they need to do to prepare for a job in which they can be successful, and develop a plan with them that will help equip them to reach their goal.

For instance, many participants have interpersonal difficulties (for example, with family members or peers) or poor communication skills. The program uses Robeson Leadership Training, a component that focuses on role-playing and discussions to help youth develop communication skills, group participation and interpersonal maturity. Youth who need the opportunity to develop these skills would have participation in this component included as part of their development plan. Young people who also lack a high school degree may need help reenrolling in school or in an education program; those who

need to earn money immediately might be enrolled in the Transformation program (the occupational training and education program run through YALA) as well as the Robeson training.

All Manhattan Valley youth who want jobs must participate in intensive workshops on career development before working one on one with the job developer. Youth might then be provided with work experience through intern- ships, summer programs or program-operated businesses while they continue to participate in other program components and work with their counselors. If difficulties or conflicts arise at their jobs, the job developer and counselor are available to help youth resolve them. Through this type of process, the participants understand that the intermediate goals they are setting are steps toward the ultimate goal they want to reach; the program counselors work with the youth to ensure that their experiences are supporting their overall growth. As we were told by Manhattan Valley staff, "the one thing we promise young people is that if they stick with the program, they will be transformed."

If the work component of the program is built around jobs that allow youth to apply the skills they have, learn new skills and perceive the job as allowing them to move forward on an occupational path, the work itself can also contribute to developing the kind of maturity and values required for long-term labor market success. For example, in the Milwaukee Community Service Corps, youth work in supervised teams on physical improvement (e.g., landscaping, rehabilitating housing in impoverished communities) or in human service (e.g., hospitals, homes for the elderly) projects that have the dual purpose of building skills and maturity as well as providing valuable services to the community. Within each work crew, staff try to balance hard workers and "problem workers" so that the "problem" youth can learn from and be motivated by the others. Although the pay is minimum wage and the work is often difficult and dirty, participants seem to place a high value on their experience because they are learning skills, providing a valuable service to their community, and can see the occupational opportunities they might have in the future.

One young female corpsmember, a single parent and high school dropout, told us her only previous work experience was a summer painting job. She had been in the program three months and "really liked it," despite the fact that her "friends think it's stupid." She felt she was "learning a lot," was studying for her GED, and had filled out an application for a job in a hospital because she wants to become a nurse. In essence, a person who had dropped out of school because she felt she had no other options had developed a sense of confidence that she could work hard and achieve her goals, and in the face of counterpressure from her peers still valued her ability to do this. So, the work experience these participants obtain serves multiple purposes: it fulfills their immediate need for a job, teaches occupational skills, helps them develop oc-

cupational values and goals, and retains them in a program setting that pushes them to mature in the cognitive, emotional and interpersonal areas of their lives.

Augmenting Traditional Education to Enhance Youth Development

The earlier discussion of developmental goals indicates the need for schools to provide opportunities that promote youth development, particularly in the cognitive domain. Because young people spend more time in school than in any other setting, their experiences there have a significant impact on their developmental trajectory. Adolescents at greatest risk of experiencing delays in development often attend schools that are severely constrained in the supports and opportunities for growth they offer, due to lack of resources, passive instructional techniques, regimented schedules, etc. These youth often attend schools that either "track" them into courses where expectations are low, or fail to provide the support they need for success in meeting higher expectations. Either situation presents circumstances under which adolescents are likely to disengage from what becomes a painful experience. As a result, many adolescents leave school before graduation, or with insufficient skills.

At least two types of developmental interventions can be designed to address these problems. First, there are alternatives to traditional educational settings, where curricula and services are designed to engage and support youth. Second, there are programs that can be offered in schools to supplement adolescents' educational experience with social support, academic support or both, and thus **prevent** educational failure and developmental lags. Either type of intervention can help youth achieve the cognitive sophistication required of today's labor force, as well as the maturity needed in other developmental domains.

Alternative Education

Many older youth who have left school come to realize the utility of education when seeking employment, and are then attracted to programs by the possibility of attaining a high school diploma, GED or other educational credential. Programs can use this appeal as a starting point for involving youth in programs that enhance cognitive development by offering educational experiences that **engage** them in ways that their previous experiences did not, and by building in activities that support development in other domains.

Traditional classroom environments, where students assume a passive role, are ineffective with many young people. Research has shown that guided individualized education (Slavin and Madden, 1987) and cooperative teaching strategies (Slavin, 1989) are often more effective with young people--particularly those who come from high-risk environments. Interventions that use these strategies to engage youth who are seeking to resume their educations are best positioned to help adolescents mature in the cognitive domain. If

these interventions combine educational strategies with other developmentally enriching experiences, they have the potential to lead to positive outcomes across the different domains.

Both DeLaSalle Education Center and YALA offer developmentally appropriate alternative education programs for adolescents who have not been well served by the traditional education system. Both programs use youth's interest in obtaining educational skills as starting points, then provide environments where adolescents can also develop the interpersonal skills, emotional control and sound judgment demanded by employers.

DeLaSalle offers a **guided, individualized** curriculum that the student is involved in designing. The process of negotiating contracts in each subject area is a central feature of this curriculum. This allows youth to become actively engaged in the learning process as they set their educational goals, and provides opportunities to practice the interpersonal skills needed to express their ideas and concerns while reaching consensus with different adults. This contract system also allows youth to pursue a customized program tailored to individual ability levels and learning styles, where expectations are clear and progress and needs can be easily reviewed. There are no pop quizzes or surprise assignments; all work is clearly worked out and agreed to in advance by the students; and teachers are available in each classroom to work with students one to one as their attention is needed (the student-to-teacher ratio in each class is about 10 to 1). This individualized system allows teachers to work out study plans that incorporate each participant's learning style and resource needs. Attendance is taken each period and counselors call students' homes when they are not in school.

While academic achievement is the focal point of DeLaSalle, the program also offers vocational education, a work maturity curriculum, and summer work through the JTPA program that can link the educational experience directly to work. It operates three businesses (a culinary program, a furniture-building business and a print shop) where students observe work-world rules while learning occupational, preemployment and work maturity skills. Social, interpersonal and emotional development are addressed, in large part, through a strong individual counseling program. As described earlier, each student is assessed in these areas on entry, and is assigned to a counselor who provides continuous personal support and guidance. Support services, such as substance abuse treatment and counseling, teen-parenting services, family education and mentoring, are available through the program.

The program has few rules, but stringently enforces those concerning fighting, alcohol and drug use, and excessive absenteeism. It encourages individual responsibility through such practices as having no bells to tell students when to go to their next class and no security guards to enforce rules. The student pop-

ulation is largely composed of youth with criminal justice (65%) and/or substance abuse (75%) histories, but the staff seem to be largely successful in promoting individual responsibility for behavior: the expulsion rate is only 5 percent, and a teacher observed that "I feel safer here than I did in the public schools."

YALA offers an alternative education curriculum based on **cooperative learning** strategies. Students are grouped according to the occupational training program in which they participate. Each occupational grouping has a team of teachers responsible for that group's educational component, and the group remains together for all classes. The classroom instruction techniques are "hands on," focus on problem-solving, and most often involve teams of students who work together to complete projects and assignments. The teachers stress the importance of dropping the mechanical, rote approach to education in which students are treated as passive "receptors;" instead, they use instructional methods that incorporate concrete and visual teaching techniques and connect academic content to real-life situations. The curriculum has a special focus on the arts, not only as a means of conveying information, but also as a way to encourage ethnic pride, strengthen self-esteem and engage participants in a long-term process of development through self-reflective activity and creative expression. Participants' educational goals are individualized and students' progress is measured through the use of portfolios that demonstrate the skills they have mastered. Like DeLaSalle, YALA has stringent rules about attendance, drug and alcohol use, defacing the building, threatening teachers, and stealing. However, only five or six students each year are expelled from the program for breaking these rules; the director noted that, in general, the program does not have much of a discipline problem.

The program is closely linked to the world of work through both occupational training and work experience. For the first segment of the program, participants attend classes in math, language arts, science and/or social studies, and their occupational specialty four days a week. One day each week is devoted to preemployment and work maturity skills training and counseling. The second segment of the program consists of work experience in the occupational area in which participants are trained during the education period.

Social, emotional and moral maturity are fostered through counseling, group discussions, and cultural and artistic activities. Each CBO associated with YALA has on-site counselors, and the school has a family support center and a substance abuse prevention program that also provide counseling; lunchtime workshops are held as forums for guided group discussions on topics important to the day-to-day lives of participants.

Both programs use educational experiences not only to enhance cognitive maturity, but as a mechanism for engaging youth in an environment where they

have opportunities to develop skills and maturity in the personal and occupational domains. Each program incorporates intensive counseling components, occupational training and work experience into an educational program that is grounded in high expectations and firm rules, and is based on providing the individualized attention often missing in traditional schools. The data supplied by these programs show preliminary evidence of high engagement on the part of youth who have already failed in traditional settings--both have high attendance rates among students who have multiple barriers to success (e.g., criminal involvement, single parenting and substance abuse).

In-School Programs

A second way to foster development through educational experiences is to supplement the school experiences of disadvantaged youth with the personal attention and support that is often lacking in their lives. This can be an effective strategy for preventing school failure and dropping out, and circumventing the developmental delays and constraints that can be experienced by youth from high-risk backgrounds. An analysis of **successful** prevention programs for at-risk adolescents (Dryfoos, 1990) yielded a list of common program components that is instructive here. These components include:

- Early identification and intervention;
- Intensive individualized attention;
- Administration by agencies outside of schools;
- Location of services both in and out of schools;
- Social skills training;
- Engagement of peers in interventions;
- Involvement of parents; and
- Links to the world of work.

Manhattan Valley is a useful example of how an intervention with these characteristics can be implemented by a youth-serving organization with a developmental focus. The Graduate Achievement Program (GAP) targets at-risk youth; it takes a comprehensive approach to preventing truancy and dropping out. Youth are targeted in the ninth grade and recruited through school counselor referrals, presentations in the schools, peer recruiting and word of mouth; youth are eligible to participate for all four years of high school. The program maintains an office in the school, where youth go through the comprehensive assessment process described earlier. The office is staffed by a

program director, counselors and tutorial coordinators. Generally, the program offers case management, tutoring, incentive-based activities and personal development activities. At one school site we visited, the office was in a large, easily identified space located off the cafeteria. The atmosphere was congenial and the space was used by participants to eat lunch together, meet after school, receive tutoring and counseling, watch videos and participate in other program activities.

Youth are held to both school and program attendance standards; they come to the office each day to sign in and speak with their counselor. Parents are called (and sometimes visited) by counselors each day a student is absent. Youth receive tutoring and counseling at their school and/or at Manhattan Valley, and participate in Robeson Leadership Training. A job developer comes twice a week to do employment skills training, outside speakers come to the school to describe careers, and students participate at least once a year in the intensive job workshops held at Manhattan Valley.

School performance is monitored by counselors through teacher progress reports on homework, test scores and grades. Students who meet attendance and performance goals are eligible to participate in incentive activities (e.g., trips to the theater, movies, restaurants and museums, which staff believe help youth develop social and interpersonal skills), and employment through internships and the Summer Youth Employment and Training Program. Program staff have regular contact with students' parents, hold parent involvement workshops, and conduct two student recognition ceremonies each year, which parents attend.

This program has all the hallmarks of a successful risk-prevention program: youth are targeted early, receive intensive individualized attention, participate in both in- and out-of-school components administered by a community-based agency and receive a host of services, including social skills training; it involves parents and peers; and it is solidly linked to the world of work. This program offers both support and challenge to the adolescents involved; information supplied by one of the program directors indicates that these at-risk students are highly engaged in school and the program--the daily attendance rate is 89 percent and, on average, students spent three hours per day in program activities in the last school year. Unfortunately, the only information that program staff have regarding program outcomes in the developmental domains is found in the counselors' case notes kept in participants' files.[14]

[14] If program-appropriate measures of these outcomes were available, it would be possible to conduct a more thorough assessment of the impact of this type of intervention on developmental outcomes.

Other Activities That Enhance Development

Other features that can serve to boost adolescents' development emerged from the work of the expert panel, the background papers and program case studies. They are listed here with brief examples of how some of the programs incorporate them into their design.

Incentives and Opportunities for Advancement

Part of the support that adolescents need in their endeavors are signs that they are achieving goals, and recognition when they internalize social norms and engage in behaviors that are valued by their community. Incentives and promotion to positions of more responsibility can reinforce maturity in judgment and behavior as youth develop. In the Milwaukee Community Service Corps, participants can be promoted to the positions of assistant crew supervisor or crew leader when their work and educational performance meets the goals set; these promotions are rewarded with an increase in salary. In the San Diego YOU program, the seven best students from the alternative school were given jobs as peer counselors at different CBOs. At Manhattan Valley, young people can obtain jobs at the program when they continue their education and make progress in the personal development components in the program, and the students receive incentives for meeting attendance and performance goals.

While seemingly straightforward, the use of incentives is complicated by the potential for "rewards" to encourage youth to continue being motivated by **external** factors. The ultimate goal of these programs is to help youth reach a point where they participate in positive activities and sustain behaviors because they come to see them as valuable to their role as a member of a community--the critical transformation discussed earlier. Incentives that will enhance development are those that carry with them the need to practice new skills and abilities and/or to accept additional complexity and responsibility in new roles. The trips and retreats at Manhattan Valley are organized to elicit new behaviors (social skills, artistic skills, physical skills, etc.) while being fun.

Promotions in these programs carry with them new demands and responsibilities as well as higher salaries. For example, assistant crew supervisors in the Milwaukee Community Service Corps are responsible for organizing equipment and preparing sites for work or for "running the crew" when the crew supervisor is otherwise engaged. The youth who received jobs at the YOU program were working as peer counselors--a position that requires the development of mature interpersonal skills.

Association With Peers As a Team Member

A critical transition during adolescence is the move from an egocentric perspective to one that takes into account the feelings and perspectives of, and the consequences of events for others. This transition from a more self-inter-

ested orientation to one that takes another's point of view into account happens gradually. Youth must develop a sense of membership in a community where they can form bonds and learn through a sense of loyalty and trust in the group that cooperation and concern for others is valuable to them as an approach to the world. Because adolescents have a natural sense of affiliation with their peers, participation in teams as an equal member is an important intermediate step in building a sense of affiliation with the larger community and incorporating its values as one's own.

Youth corps, such as the Milwaukee Community Service Corps, use this strategy with participants. Having a job is important to these adolescents, yet they often do not understand the importance of arriving at work on time, showing up every day and doing their fair share. By working on projects as part of a team, or crew, whose purpose is to complete projects of value to the community, young people have the opportunity to make mistakes in a safe environment and see how acting in their own self-interest without concern for others affects the work and their teammates. If youth come to value their association with their peers, and the opportunity to participate in and benefit from the program, they can begin to see how their approach to work must change if their involvement is to continue, and how their efforts are related to the success of the corps community and eventually the larger community in which they live. This transition is marked by the change from complying with external rules to cooperating because of internal motivation. When this is transferred to other settings, youth are much more likely to succeed in the long term.

Opportunities to Discuss Issues of Importance to Youth

During adolescence, youth are faced with myriad issues and decisions that are critical to their futures. Sexuality, parenting, substance use, criminal involvement, family relationships, occupational aspirations, racism, friendship and many other serious issues must be dealt with by young people in the course of their everyday lives. At-risk youth are often in settings where they do not have access to understanding adults or responsible peers with whom they can honestly examine these issues and who will challenge them to think about these issues in a more developmentally mature way.

The programs we studied have used different strategies for incorporating discussions of critical issues into their activities. The Milwaukee Community Service Corps uses a curriculum that outlines ways for staff to lead open, productive group discussions about these kinds of issues; one morning each week is devoted to these discussions. The corps also holds "community meetings" that are attended by all staff and participants. Those attending sit in a circle; anyone who chooses to speak stands in the center of the circle and is given the full attention of the group. The issues discussed at these sessions vary widely, from the very personal and sensitive to the mundane. But all speakers are given moral support, affirmation and respect (through approving glances,

nods of agreement and endorsement, cheers and applause, etc.) by the rest of the community. These sessions are designed to treat all ideas with respect and, in the process, help to build the sense of community that is central to the program. At YALA, the staff recognized the need for the participants to have a forum for discussing the issues they are most concerned with, and began a series of lunchtime meetings where youth are encouraged to explore their opinions and ideas on a range of topics and the consequences of acting on them. The Robeson Leadership Training at Manhattan Valley also incorporates this type of session into discussions and uses role-playing as a way for youth to explore personal and social issues.

Opportunities to Actively Participate in Governance of the Program

In their background paper, the Blakeneys (1992) discuss at length the need for programs to address adolescents' increasing ability and need to make decisions about their lives. As discussed in Chapter II, youth from disadvantaged backgrounds often lack opportunities to experience and practice the process of formulating rules and making judgments and decisions while considering others' perspectives; their communities often do not have the resources to provide for youth leagues, clubs and other organizations where adolescents practice the art of negotiating rules and taking on decision-making and leadership roles with adult guidance. Programs designed to support development can fill this gap by incorporating into their governance structure two critical components: a Community Forum and a Fairness Committee.

Briefly, the Community Forum is for rule-making and discussion of community issues. It is a place where youth and adults (teachers, counselors, administrators) gather regularly (ideally, once a week) to discuss such issues as behavioral expectations, performance standards and procedures for conflict resolution. It is also a time when youth and staff can acknowledge each other for a job well done (as happens in the youth corps community meetings described earlier).

Staff necessarily have more responsibility for setting basic minimum expectations, but the creation of a community environment with teamwork is generally best accomplished when all participants set and agree to the rules. Staff should first decide among themselves their own (collective) nonnegotiables. Beyond that, agreement on rules and their enforcement go a long way toward creating a developmental environment. Examples offered by the Blakeneys of issues, rules and policies that might be discussed in the Community Forum include standards for grooming and dress, issues of race relations, smoking policies and proposed rule modifications (e.g., valid excuses for absences or tardiness).

The second component of a shared governance structure is the Fairness Committee. The Community Forum is used to establish and agree to the program's

rules about program responsibilities, individual rights, interpersonal behavior, etc. The Fairness Committee addresses rule infractions or interpersonal grievances. This committee, which is composed of both trainees and staff, has as its primary function helping individuals use their own misbehavior as the basis for change and growth (behavioral change as well as growth in cognitive and moral reasoning) (Blakeney and Blakeney, 1991). Its secondary goal is to redress interpersonal grievances and resolve interpersonal conflict. Overall, the Fairness Committee is designed to create and maintain a fair and caring moral atmosphere. Its objective, then, is the social and moral development of the individual and the approximation of justice in the program. This is particularly important for at-risk youth, who often perceive the world as unjust, and who, in turn, justify their own misbehavior on grounds that "they treated us wrong" or "life ain't fair." The committee addresses the problem of power seeming arbitrary, which often interferes with youth's willingness and ability to learn the rules of the world of work and successfully maintain job positions.

In this forum, both youth and adults can challenge each other with having violated a rule or treated someone unfairly. There are three steps in the Fairness Committee process. The first is the justice or fact-finding step, which ensures that the accusation is valid. During a committee hearing, youth discuss whether they actually did what they were accused of doing. Next, the committee attempts to determine whether the accused believes that what he or she did was actually wrong. This second step is concerned with understanding the moral claim of the individual. There are three dimensions subsumed under this step: **justice claims** (he got more than his fair share, I got less than mine; I have a right, she has no right; etc.); **caring claims** (she wasn't taking care of me; it's not my responsibility; I just wanted to see if you cared; I don't care); and **claims for autonomy** (you can't tell me what to do; it's my life, I can do what I want to do). Finally, there is the discipline or transformation phase. Disciplines can be classified as: restitutive, restrictive, reflective and relational. (See the example in Exhibit A.) In sum, the Fairness Committee guides individual development, supports a fair and caring atmosphere, and teaches a problem-solving process with lifelong application for staff and trainees.

How Support Services Facilitate Growth

Discussions about adolescent development (such as this one) often focus on a concern with youth's needs to develop an identity, take the perspective of others, think abstractly, make mature judgments, etc., and neglect a necessary discussion of the fundamental survival needs that can affect youth's ability to focus on other developmental tasks. Adequate food, clothing and housing, physical health and safety, provisions for children, and freedom from substance addiction, for example, are all prerequisite to any

EXHIBIT A

USING A FAIRNESS COMMITTEE

Identifying the moral claim is both important and a bit tricky. Let's say that Larry has missed three days of training. He acknowledges that his absence was unexcused, and understands that attendance is an agreed-on rule that he violated (step one: the **justice** aspect of the meeting). However, he claims that he had to do it because his mother needed him to help with the baby when she had an emergency (a caring claim).

The goal of the Fairness Committee at this point is to help Larry understand the choices he is making and their consequences, and to help him figure out how best to balance his need for regular attendance at training (and subsequently at work) and his need to help his mother (identifying the **moral claim**, in this case a conflict between family relationships and expectations of the training program). This may require, for example, teaching Larry communication skills and negotiation skills, as well as helping him become aware of alternative resources within the community.

The third step in the Fairness Committee process is the **discipline** phase. Disciplines ought to serve both the developmental (transformational) needs of individual trainees and the community (interpersonal, program) needs for both shared norms and fairness in their application. Disciplines are designed to help individual trainees understand their feelings and their behavior; think more adequately about what they do **before** they do it; distinguish among various contexts for action; and, most overtly, practice exercising self-discipline. The discipline phase also must address the fairness needs of the group by redressing grievances and resolving interpersonal conflicts, as well as the nurturing needs of the group to feel protected and cared for. Disciplines can usually be classified as:

1. **Restitutive** (making restitution to an individual or group for something that was taken or denied);
2. **Restrictive** (limiting the opportunities of individual students for full access to program activities and benefits--this includes suspension and expulsion);
3. **Reflective** (writing essays, doing role-plays, or talking with a counselor about the relationship between feelings and behavior, for example); and
4. **Relational** (getting hugs in Community Forum; accepting positive feedback; going out for ice cream with a teacher or peer with whom one is quarreling).

Now, returning to our example of Larry's repeated "program violation." What do we do when someone violates a rule or norm? Let's say we've agreed on a rule that anyone who has four unexcused absences in a month is terminated from the program. Larry has been written up for three unexcused absences. Each time he violated the attendance rule, he came before the Fairness Committee. Each time, he said that he missed training because his mother had an emergency and left him with the younger kids. The first time, the committee asked him why he hadn't called in. He said that he didn't know he was supposed to call in. He was reminded of the rule and agreed to call in the next time. He was given a "warning." After the second violation, Larry said that he knew he was supposed to call in, but his mother said that she would call for him. We asked whose responsibility it was to call in, and he said, well, he didn't know--because in school it was always the mother's responsibility to call in.

We asked him to make a list of things he ought to be responsible for and things his mom ought to be responsible for, then write why each thing should be his (or his mom's) responsibility, and read the list in Community Forum. The object of this discipline is to help Larry begin to separate from his mother, so that he can think more clearly about his own priorities (reflective discipline).

Larry stayed angry at the training staff for about two weeks. Although he grumbled and mumbled, he came every day. But he started to act out at home (we later learned). He was argumentative and insubordinate with his stepfather. When he came home late and loaded, his parents kicked him out, and he went to live with his aunt. After three weeks, he was back with his mother, and, a month later, Larry did it again--seriously jeopardizing his placement. This time, we met with Larry's mother as well as Larry, and asked them to discuss how Larry could help his mother if he were working--and whether or not it might benefit the whole family if Larry could finish his training program, rather than be expelled so that he'd be available for occasional babysitting. Larry agreed to take responsibility for babysitting some evenings so that his mother could run her errands. Here, the intervention is designed to a) help Larry identify his own needs and claims; b) help Larry set priorities; and c) get Larry to focus on the family as a unit--recognizing his claim for loyalty, and raising the stage of his concern (relational and reflective discipline).

individual's capacity to develop the sense of identity, motivation and values that are necessary for success in the labor market.

In every program we visited, the staff were acutely aware of how financial, housing, child care, family, and substance abuse problems interfere with youth's ability to benefit from the intervention. Many staff discussed the particular importance of assisting at-risk youth in these areas because their levels of maturity and problem-solving skills, and the support networks available to them, were not sufficient to allow them to devise solutions on their own. As one YALA staff member put it: "This program needs to provide **direct** support services (housing, transportation, child care, etc.) because the students don't have the problem-solving skills to double up and share housing [or child care] . . . These kids build up networks, strong ones, with each other, early and easily, but don't know how to use each other as resources [for information or for help]." Despite the importance of these basic needs, the same constraints in development that lead youth to fail in the workplace render them incapable of devising strategies for meeting their own basic needs. So while youth are in the process of maturing across the developmental domains, part of the support that interventions must offer are services that address these fundamental problems. As youth mature, they will begin to develop the decision-making and problem-solving skills that will eventually help them fill these needs on their own.

At Manhattan Valley, all the program components include case management services involving counselor referrals to other social service agencies for eligible youth. The program does not provide direct support services to youth, but counselors seem to be well connected to the service network in the community.

On the other hand, the staff at YALA recounted to us the difficulties they initially had in providing youth with counsel and information about housing, welfare and other services. The staff were not familiar with the various eligibility requirements and procedures, but eventually learned them, since so many youth needed assistance in these areas. The program has since opened a family support center that provides youth with necessary counseling and referrals; a substance abuse prevention program that also includes a treatment referral unit; and a small child-care center operated by the program on the premises. YALA also has agreements with nearby hospitals and clinics to provide youth with medical services.

San Diego's YOU program also relies on a case management referral system for obtaining support services for participants. DeLaSalle and the Milwaukee Community Service Corps rely on personal counseling and referrals by staff members to meet youth's support needs.

In order to run programs that incorporate the strategies considered in this section, organizations must give serious attention to both personnel and management issues. Chapter IV discusses personnel issues--the type of staff needed by programs to sustain developmental interventions, and how program administrators might select and train them--and the management and organizational culture required for maintaining supportive program environments.

Summary

Effective youth programs are those that are structured to provide an adolescent with an environment that is both supportive and challenging. Youth who face challenges that exceed their maturity level and do not also find adequate support to meet these challenges may experience failure and, in turn, anger and helplessness. On the other hand, youth who are not sufficiently challenged may become bored, failing to fulfill even the minimal expectations set for them. The five exemplary programs we reviewed have incorporated practices and strategies that avoid both these extremes and appear to be effective in enhancing youth development.

In order to provide an appropriate balance of support and challenge, interventions must assess adolescents' individual levels of maturity in all domains of development (emotional, cognitive, intrapersonal, interpersonal and moral) and use this knowledge to inform and shape the program's goals and expectations for each youth. This process of assessment should be ongoing; it should track participants' progress and continuously shape their program experiences. From the five programs reviewed, it is clear that if this assessment process is to be used widely throughout the JTPA system, standardized, easily administered developmental assessment tools must be created.

Developmentally appropriate interventions also need to contain activities that are interesting enough to engage and retain youth in the program. An environment that is appropriately supportive and challenging is more likely to reach this goal. In the programs studied, opportunities for work, education and participation in activities otherwise unavailable (e.g., field trips to museums or summer retreats) were features particularly compelling to adolescents.

There are other features that enhance adolescent development: incentives and opportunities for advancement; chances to work with peers in a group setting; opportunities to discuss important youth issues with peers and adults (e.g., sexuality, substance use, family relationships and occupational aspirations); and opportunities to be part of the program's decision- and rule-making process. In addition, at-risk youth are in need of such supportive services as housing, transportation and child care.

In order for these features to be combined and provided to youth in a cohesive way that facilitates their sense of membership in a community, it seems necessary to create holistic program environments. Stringing services together across a variety of settings works against the goal of providing adolescents with an experience that can transform the way they make judgments and view their role in the world. Not all youth require sustained involvement in the full range of transformative services described above (though some will); it does seem clear, however, that most youth are likely to benefit from this type of service strategy.

IV. Staffing And Organizational Issues

The preceding discussion makes it clear that the ability of a program to offer an environment in which youth are supported as they develop competence is intricately tied to the capability and commitment of its staff.[15] Every program element considered crucial to the success of these endeavors hinges on the ability of the staff to implement these elements: 1) conducting comprehensive assessments of the developmental maturity and readiness of youth requires staff who are knowledgeable about the complex growth process adolescents undergo; 2) continuing vigilance in assessing the progress youth make during their program participation, and in making adjustments in individual youth's program experiences, require staff who can recognize when youth are "engaged" and making developmental gains, as well as when more support is required as youth appear to get "in over their heads"; 3) structuring and implementing work and education components that satisfy youth's immediate needs, while at the same time encouraging growth in skills, values and maturity in judgment, requires ingenuity and insightfulness on the part of the responsible staff members; 4) structuring and using incentives and promotions to foster growth rather than impede it by reinforcing youth's natural tendency to rely on external rewards for motivation requires creativity on the part of the staff; 5) creating a sense of community by working with teams of youth and encouraging and guiding frank discussions about issues that are important to adolescents requires staff members who are empathetic and sensitive to youth's social and emotional concerns and difficulties; 6) incorporating youth participation into the governance of a program may represent one of the most challenging developmental features for youth workers; 7) balancing the need to guide youth but also allow them to practice the self-determination and responsibility necessary in adult roles can tax even a highly qualified and devoted staff; and 8) guiding youth through the maze of paperwork and procedures needed to navigate the social service system requires a knowledgeable and persistent staff.

Implementing these elements is a tall order, well beyond the typical staff skills in many traditional employment training programs, but some programs committed to providing the supportive environment necessary for the developmental transformation of youth have managed to hire and build staff equal to the task.

Program administrators' descriptions of their process of selecting staff make it seem more of an art than a science. This chapter of the report describes a

[15] This chapter incorporates much of the background paper prepared on this topic by Blakeney and Blakeney.

more systematic approach to staff selection and training, one in which the following three questions are considered:

- How should the relationships between staff and youth be structured in order to meet the developmental needs of adolescents in training programs?
- What principles, criteria and process can be used for staff selection?
- How can staff be trained to meet the developmental needs of youth in job training programs?

Structuring Relationships Between Staff And Youth

Much of the previous discussion has centered around the need to maintain a supportive environment for youth in seeking positive developmental outcomes. Staff **are** much of that supportive environment. The structure of the relationships between participants and staff reflects the underlying principles by which the program operates. The three essential features of these relationships shown to be effective in facilitating adolescent development in a variety of settings (e.g., public schools, Sunday schools, reform schools and therapeutic communities)[16] are caring, fairness, and shared authority and responsibility for decision-making.

Caring

According to a number of developmental theories, it is necessary for young people to develop a one-to-one trusting relationship with an adult before they can come to value, and see themselves as members of, the larger social system. A growing literature on mentoring (for example, Styles and Morrow, 1992; Freedman, 1991 and 1988) and youth resiliency (for example, Werner and Smith, 1989; Blakeney and Blakeney, 1986) supports the centrality of a relationship with a caring adult as a critical factor in the development of youth from high-risk environments. This type of relationship is especially critical in program settings for at-risk youth because the developmentally constrained environments in which they grow up (both families and neighborhoods) often leave them vulnerable to developmental delays. The presence of a caring relationship with an adult is often what distinguishes youth who surmount the barriers associated with maturing in impoverished environments from those who do not. Many of these youth are in need of what amounts to "reparenting":

[16] Blakeney and Blakeney cite the following references: Power, Higgins and Kohlberg, 1989; Blatt and Kohlberg, 1975; Hickey and Scharf, 1980, and Blakeney and Blakeney, 1990.

Adults in [the] lives [of these youth often] need to help them to rework the early years and to understand and **change** *the* **maladaptive patterns** *in their lives that impede their ability to acquire job skills, to grow, and to join the wider social world of work . . . At-risk youth need to have one particular adult whom they can count on, trust and respect, who will be a* **transitional** *relationship for them, so that they can* **practice** *the kinds of relationships they will need to have with adults in the world of work--as well as providing them with practical information they need to become more competent (Blakeney and Blakeney, 1992:18-19).*

All of the programs we visited, as well as two others visited by the Blakeneys, are staffed and structured in a manner that encourages this type of relationship between youth and adults. As illustrated in Chapter III, each exemplary program includes assignment of youth to counselors and/or supervisors who are available to help youth with problems (e.g., practical needs for child care or transportation; conflicts with parents, coworkers or job supervisors), to encourage and support youth as they move to more complex ways of thinking and making judgments, and to monitor and adjust to the demands made of youth by program activities as they succeed or fail to meet expectations. The smaller programs facilitate these relationships by virtue of their size and the ability of all staff to interact regularly with each participant; the larger programs reach this goal by employing a significant number of counselors whose primary responsibilities are those listed above.

Fairness and Sharing Authority and Responsibility for Decision-Making

An important step in development for adolescents is the transition from acting, making decisions and resolving problems based on self-centered needs to more complex consideration of the need for cooperation, teamwork and interpersonal relationships. When youth remain egocentric in their perspective they are:

> *dysfunctional in the world of work because [this perspective] undermines daily decisions that require self-discipline: getting up on time to make it to work; working regularly when you don't feel like it; following through on activities that adults and supervisors identify as important; keeping appointments on time; and dressing in a manner appropriate to the work setting (Blakeney and Blakeney, 1992:8).*

Poor decisions about these behaviors interfere with participants' ability to participate in the program before they ever move to a "real-life" work setting.

Disadvantaged youth often hold onto a less mature perspective that results in behavioral problems likely to get them expelled from a program or fired from

a job, because they often do not see themselves as members of a community of equals. The perception that one has the opportunity to participate as a member in a community with equal rights and claims for fairness is a "sine qua non" of development in later adolescence. But this is an opportunity often denied to disadvantaged youth because of the factors associated with race, class and gender inequalities. These youth often "**know** the right thing to do in the conventional sense, but feel no obligation to **do** the right thing given their observation of the real world" (Blakeney and Blakeney, 1992:8). The likelihood of youth meeting social expectations is diminished when they feel no real obligation to do so. Therefore, one of the valuable experiences developmental programs can provide is the opportunity to participate in a community characterized by fairness that involves them in decision-making and responsibility for the community. This helps build understanding that their participation in a group makes a difference in the success or failure of the group, and how it operates. The use of Community Forums and Fairness Committees, described in Chapter III, can ensure that youth are given the opportunity to practice making decisions and rules based on the consequences for the community of which they are a part. It is the **practice** of these activities that can ultimately help youth see themselves as a member of a family, a team, a company or a community; by considering their membership before they act, they are more likely to successfully meet the expectations of each of those groups.

While none of the programs we visited have practices that include both community forums and committees to address rule infractions or grievances, some of these elements are present. The staff did recognize the importance of "fairness" and "community"--a number voiced the importance of maintaining an atmosphere of "no special treatment or favors." For the most part, all the programs studied rely on being explicit up front about performance standards (particularly attendance) and behavioral expectations (especially regarding fighting and drug use) held by the staff to communicate high, uniform expectations and establish the perception of fairness; in four of the five programs, these expectations are included in contracts signed by youth before participation in the program begins.

In the case of YALA, part of the orientation involves the youth's participation in setting the standards and rules for classroom behavior; in the case of the Milwaukee Community Service Corps, community meetings are held where youth are free to voice their feelings and concerns about any area of participation in the program. As the director told us: "I want [the young people] to feel that this is not a program that exists out there, but that they are critical members. They **are** the program. I want to develop a sense of community, of belonging." At the time of our visit, this program was also in the process of forming a grievance board to be composed of a program board member, a staff member and a corpsmember.

None of the programs have yet incorporated regular, structured involvement of youth in governance into their design. This may be a difficult practice to start in programs unaccustomed to this type of activity, but it has been successfully implemented in a variety of settings, including those listed at the start of this section. One other notable example, in the employment training field, is the Youthbuild program. This is a work-based occupational training intervention that has at its center the involvement of youth in the management and governance of the program. The potential benefits of participant governance in areas critical to workplace success warrant a trial of this practice by other employment and training programs.

Criteria And Process For Staff Selection

Staff in programs dedicated to helping adolescents prepare for adulthood have dual responsibilities--to transmit information and to support transformational growth. The requirements for the informational role are relatively straightforward--staff must have skills and knowledge associated with the technical areas involved in program activities. The requirements for the transformational role are more complex--staff need qualities that will create an environment where youth receive the guidance, support and challenge required to facilitate their movement toward carrying out the roles and responsibilities required of adult members of the community. The requirements for this transformational role are the focus of the discussion here.

In our interviews with staff at the exemplary programs, people at all levels of the organization listed similar requirements for success in working with youth. Every list was composed primarily of individuals' **personal** qualities, rather than their training in particular fields. The characteristics cited include commitment, attitude, motivation, sensitivity, creativity, caring, patience, flexibility and openness. The Blakeneys, in their work on staff screening and selection, have distilled this list down to two critical characteristics: maturity and stability.

Cognitive, social and moral maturity and stability must be present among the staff in a program if youth who have been constrained in their development in these areas are to form healthy relationships with, and be guided by, the adults in this setting. As has been argued throughout this report, the need to acquire technical competencies and skills--while important--is secondary to at-risk youth's need to make significant changes in the way they think about the world--only then will they sustain the behaviors that lead to success in the world of work. In order to act as an agent of transformation, an adult must be able to understand the complexity of social institutions and the need for different roles and rules; understand and balance conflicting viewpoints and respect

the perspective of others; and be able to balance the rights and responsibilities of individuals and those of groups. So staff must be able to:

- Assess the needs of individual youth;
- Develop trusting relationships with youth and coworkers;
- Make it safe for youth to take risks as they mature;
- Understand and appreciate rules, roles and relationships within groups and organizations;
- Respect individual youth and their backgrounds; and
- Have the ability to establish authority and command respect.

While there may be consensus about certain character traits that make adults good workers (e.g., honesty, sincerity, patience, curiosity, dedication, enthusiasm, optimism and sense of humor), other crucial characteristics must not be overlooked. In general, personal and interpersonal maturity and stability are the critical factors that program administrators can, and should, identify in selecting staff.

For the most part, the staff responsible for hiring in the programs we visited rely on personal recommendations and their own ability to evaluate an individual's appropriateness for working with youth. Through experience and insight, the staff we interviewed have inferred the need to focus on the personal stability and maturity of candidates. They spoke of the need to be "open to change" but be "thoughtful about and committed" to their own philosophy (cognitive stability); to have "empathy for the experiences of young people" and be "sensitive to their cultural backgrounds," and be able to develop relationships with youth; as well as to have self-confidence "that shines through to young people" (social stability). But the level of stability and maturity of a person's judgment is a very difficult trait to gauge informally.

The Blakeneys recommend a more systematic process for interviewing and screening adults who apply for positions with youth-serving organizations. This process, described below, is based on the work of researchers who have developed interview techniques for assessing cognitive, social, emotional and moral maturity,[17] which can be incorporated into the interview process program operators use to select staff.

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[17] This is the work of Lawrence Kohlberg (1969), Carol Gilligan (1982), Robert Selman et al. (in press), Greg Parent and D. Warshawsky (1987) and Robert Kegan (1982).

During the first stage of screening, applicants provide standard information about education and experience. In addition to standard interview questions, applicants are asked questions that allow the interviewer to examine what they think about youth, how they view and resolve conflict, how they view racial and cultural influences on work, and how they view their role in programs and society at large. For example, applicants can be asked to talk about:

- Their own theories of adolescent development;
- How they see race and culture as factors in job training and placement;
- How they view the interaction between "line" staff and administrative staff in a program; and
- Their vision for themselves and for society.

It is also useful to ask candidates to talk about a time or situation when they had to make a difficult decision in the context of work, what the conflict was, what things they considered in trying to resolve it, how they resolved it and what happened, what they learned from the experience, and what they might do differently now. (See Exhibit B for examples of workplace conflict.)

At the second stage of interviewing, the applicant should also be asked to complete paper and pencil tests of reasoning about dilemmas.[18] These tests have standard forms of scoring that can be used to compare an individual's style of making judgments and decisions, based on theories of development.

The information from the open-ended questions, the self-generated dilemma and the standard dilemmas can be used to assess the stability and maturity of an individual. Basically, the answers are examined to see if they are internally consistent, logical and hierarchical (i.e., does the individual make sense, remain clear and consistent across a variety of problems, and choose the best solution even when it entails personal difficulty or risk).

In terms of maturity and stability, the Blakeneys identify risks and benefits associated with different types of staff members:

> *Egocentric staff members.* Adults who make judgments based on meeting their own needs and avoiding trouble are not mature enough to act as transformational adults in the lives of youth. They cannot be expected to orient themselves to the needs of youth, develop caring relationships with youth, or understand and convey perspectives of the larger world of work.

[18] Two standardized tests are recommended--one by Rest (1975) and one by Gibbs et al. (1984). They are listed in the references to this report.

EXHIBIT B

RESPONSE TO A WORKPLACE DILEMMA

Problem 1. Once when I was working the night shift at Juvenile Hall, I had a coworker who took home whole hams every now and again. He was really good with the kids, and I liked working with him, and I know he was a single parent and they weren't paying all that hot, and I halfway tried to talk to him; but damn, I didn't want to get blamed and lose my job, so I told.

Problem 2. I worked at this school one time a while back, where we didn't really get any breaks. There were thirty-something kids in a classroom, and the classes were back to back, and in between you had to straighten up and get ready for the next class, and at lunch and for half an hour after school we had yard duty. Anyway, I had this one coworker who said she needed to take off at 2:45 on Wednesdays, when her boy got out of school. She said that she'd cover the last half of my yard duty on another day, if I'd cover for her on Wednesdays. I said that I really thought we needed two of us on the yard, to watch all those kids, and that's why they had it that way. I couldn't talk her out of it, and she did it anyway. I really thought about it, because it was only 15 minutes, and she had to pick up her boy, and the principal wouldn't let her off; but if she was the kind of person who would leave the kids in the yard alone, then at least the principal needed to know that, so I told.

In these two dilemmas, both staff members chose to "tell" on a coworker. The first one, however, was considering only her own job and "getting caught" herself, even though she was aware of extenuating circumstances. In the second dilemma, the staff member considered a variety of perspectives, including those of the coworker, the children and the administration, and decided that it would be best to tell.

Relationships-oriented staff members. Individuals who are guided by the desire to maintain relationships and gain the approval of significant others can be expected to do well in establishing relationships with youth and coworkers. They can help youth learn to trust, and once they establish a relationship with a youth will be a real advocate in the youth's life. On the other hand, when the demands of the relationship come in conflict with the demands of the system, they often fail to follow established policy and procedures. They are likely to rely on interpersonal attachments to get youth to do what is expected of them. When this fails and they have to rely on the system, youth may feel betrayed and lose their sense of being treated fairly. Further, when a youth's performance is based solely on an individual relationship, it is not necessarily transferable to staff and supervisors in other settings.

Rule- and role-bound staff members. Individuals who make decisions based on policies and procedures, understand their role as a team member, and value rules and orderliness often make good candidates. However, working with at-risk youth is often not an orderly process, and this can lead to frustration or disillusionment for this type of staff member, thus creating a "burnout." To succeed, this type of individual will need to learn to be more flexible and caring.

Flexible and caring staff members. These individuals often resolve conflicts and make decisions based on principles that go beyond rules and laws. They can see where there are limits to the system and, in those cases, employ principles of right and wrong to guide their choices. People who reason abstractly, and who have the social experience to understand the need for rules, roles, systems and order, have experience in the world that allows them (or forces them) to examine the limits of the system, and are flexible and caring, are often the best candidates to help youth move toward the maturity required in the work force. This type of candidate is often found among recent college graduates, or among adults making career changes. The risk in seeking this type of staff members is finding people who are more interested in defying the system than in working within it, or who question the system but have not formed a set of principles to replace what they reject. If adults have no firm sense of right or wrong, they cannot be expected to set limits or provide guidance for youth.

Potentially unstable staff members. There are two common types of staff members whose potential "instabilities" are likely to undermine their effectiveness with youth. "Rescuers" are too prone to emotional attachment. They want to "save" youth and are motivated to do the best they can and give of themselves to those who are less fortunate. However, they cannot set limits for youth without getting overinvolved, angry or

hurt, and they may want so badly to help that they use bad judgment about youth they care about--for example, by lying for them about attendance to "rescue them from themselves." "Rebels" are willing to work within the system, yet do not really see themselves as part of the system. They are often antiauthority, are marginally attached to the system, and can be manipulative and untrustworthy.

The ability to examine responses to questions asked of job applicants and determine which strengths and weaknesses they have requires some training of the staff members responsible for hiring. Many of the program directors we interviewed recognized the importance of staff members' characteristics to the program's ability to attain its goals, and felt they would probably benefit from the ability to strategically assess the staff members they hire.

However, the goal is not simply to hire individuals who are at the highest levels of maturity and stability, but to assemble a team that balances staff who are concerned with relationships, those who are concerned with social systems, and those who have a vision of the future. With proper training, staff with complementary strengths can form a team that can create a supportive environment in which youth can flourish.

Staff Training

Despite general recognition of the pivotal role staff play in creating a transformational environment for youth, none of the programs we visited include regular, formal training in their practices. Individual staff members are often free or encouraged to seek training in different fields outside the program. At Manhattan Valley, the "case conference" sessions are considered a training opportunity for counselors. But no program incorporates internal training of staff into its structure.

The Blakeneys have developed a seven-unit package of training sessions for use with staff in youth programs. It is based on principles from developmental theory and organized around imparting information to staff about development, strategies for dealing with youth's behaviors that are often associated with developmental delays, and building capacity for teamwork. The first training session is on "The fundamentals of adolescent development necessary to prepare a youth for the world of work" and is shown in Exhibit C. All sessions are included in Appendix B.

The goals of training staff for their "transformational" role with youth include information transmission about the developmental process; personal development of maturity in the cognitive, social, emotional and moral domains; and

EXHIBIT C

TRAINING SESSION

***LESSON 1*: The fundamentals of adolescent development necessary to prepare a youth for the world of work.**

***OBJECTIVE.* To help staff see that normal adolescents go through predictable stages of development, and to familiarize them with ways of assessing the stages of socio-moral, identity and logical development in order to inform and guide:**

1. Staff expectations;
2. Staff decision-making;
3. The development of staff/youth relationships; and
4. Goal-setting for individual job trainees and for the group.

***METHOD.* (Our methodological goal is to get staff to join those who are "training them" in a problem-solving exercise, and to avoid a defensive confrontation regarding their intuitive theories of development, while at the same time building a common understanding.)**

1. *Problem Definition.* Ask staff members to share experiences about one adolescent they have worked with who has been intriguing to understand or to help.
2. Outline staff members' underlying assumptions about development and helping.
3. *Lecture.* Present what is known about adolescent development, following stages of logical, identity and socio-moral development.
4. Outline stages in racial identity development as a subset of identity and morality.
5. *Practice.* Present examples of adolescent reasoning at various stages and let the group practice listening for and identifying underlying structure. Evaluate: How does this kid see him- or herself; how does he or she see the world? How does he or she define right and wrong? Is he or she a concrete reasoner or does he or she think abstractly?
6. *Role-Plays.* Have staff role-play with adolescents at different stages of development, practicing both "being" at a given stage and interacting with an adolescent at that stage. For example, one staff member plays an adolescent who has a concrete logic and an egocentric social perspective; another staff plays an adolescent who is also concrete and egocentric, but who can negotiate, defining right as that which meets the adolescent's needs. A third staff member enacts a youth who is embarking on conventional morality--who possesses abstract logic and can therefore take others' perspectives and balance them against his or her own. Finally, a fourth staff member plays an intake worker, asking each adolescent why he or she wants to join the job training program.
7. *Observation.* During the work week, staff should listen for developmental stages in the job trainees' reasoning, note at least one example at each of at least two different stages, and note a bit of reasoning that they are not quite sure how to make sense of in terms of the stages. (Helpful hint: if adolescents do not spontaneously produce examples of "scorable" reasoning, staff may ask them: "Why is that good/bad/important?" "Why do you see yourself that way?" or just, "Why is that?" These questions (called "probes") should pull the structure of the adolescent's reasoning.)

***Evaluation.* Staff should be able to identify the adolescents' stage of moral reasoning both from paper-and-pencil (hypothetical) data, and from reasoning within the context of the day-to-day job training program.**

team-building that encourages staff to work together in much the same way we have described for youth.

Whether by use of the method presented here or by some other method, it is clear that to increase the developmental gains of at-risk youth, programs must rely on their staff to sustain the type of relationships and activities that will lead to this end. Most staff in youth programs are not trained in developmental theory. Therefore, programs should not rely wholly on the capacity of staff to deal intuitively with youth in a manner that will lead to developmental transformation--they need to provide at least basic training to support staff in their efforts.

Organizational Features For Developmental Settings

Organizations that operate within complex systems of national, state and local funding are often left unstudied when examining issues of how effective interventions for youth should be structured. While there is a large theoretical literature about the effective features of organizations, which has been applied to the study of schools, these frameworks are just starting to be used to analyze other youth-serving organizations.

Three organizational features that play a critical role in effective service organizations are: 1) the strength and clarity of mission, 2) the leadership, and 3) the organizational culture and climate in these settings. These elements have both direct and indirect effects on the capacity of an organization (or system) to provide supportive environments for youth through their impact on staff motivation and performance.

The **stated mission** of an organization reflects its central purpose and influences strategic decisions about goals and reward systems. These in turn affect performance. Research shows that **clarity** and **consensus** regarding the organization's mission are important determinants of performance.

Supporting the engagement and maturation of participants in programs requires consensus about providing quality services and experiences that are oriented toward the developmental needs of youth. This was evident in the exemplary programs we visited.

Staff at Manhattan Valley, the Milwaukee corps and DeLaSalle reported little confusion or conflict about the purpose of their organizations. On the other hand, staff at YALA and the YOU program in San Diego reported difficulties

with the implementation and day-to-day operation of their programs that arose as a result of competing external influences on their mission.

At YALA, the local Service Delivery Area (SDA) perceived the primary goal of the program to be direct placement of participants into jobs rather than educational settings. While the staff were also concerned with preparing youth for employment, they believed the most **effective** path for participants to follow, in many cases, was to continue their pursuit of educational credentials. The SDA measures the program's performance in terms of employment outcomes, which creates conflict for the staff between their assessment of the requirements for a successful program and the standards by which they are measured in the employment training system.

At the YOU site, similar difficulties arose over the competing influences of the program's mission to provide comprehensive, cohesive services to youth and the formal requirements of the education system, which took precedence over program goals in the alternative school. This directly affects day-to-day operations for the program staff and the experience of the participants in the program. YOU staff are not able to structure participants' program services in the cohesive manner intended, since the education component, in effect, operates as a separate entity with its own procedures, regulations and performance measures. As a result, staff are faced with coordination problems and a lack of consensus in their efforts to provide for youth a supportive environment that addresses their needs.

Leadership is a critical link between the mission and goals of an organization and the effective implementation of strategies that support staff efforts to meet these goals. In youth-serving organizations, leaders must use management practices that encourage staff involvement in shaping the strategies used to fulfill the organization's mission and that promote group cohesion among staff. An active role in program governance and a team-building environment play a critical role in the support of staff's endeavors in the same way they influence youth's program experience. Each of the exemplary programs we visited evidences this type of leadership and management.

For example, at the Milwaukee Community Service Corps, the director was explicit about the need to involve staff in management decisions and to encourage them to make decisions about the day-to-day functioning of their program component: "I try to encourage staff to make . . . decisions . . . even if some have trouble at first because they are so used to [working in] hierarchies." At Manhattan Valley, staff are involved in the design of each program component; and each component has a director and team who are responsible for its implementation.

Sharing responsibility and decision-making in organizations clearly requires leaders who effectively communicate the mission and goals that should guide all activities. Regular staff meetings and "team" structures were incorporated into the exemplary program operations as mechanisms for encouraging active staff involvement in program governance and cohesion among program staff.

Organizational culture and climate are more complex features to describe, but are critical to the success of creating supportive environments since they have powerful effects on the motivation and performance of staff. The culture of an organization reflects the underlying principles and values that shape its practices and goals. Culture is "the glue that holds the elements of an organization together . . . and either enhances or impedes organizational functioning and [its ability] to adapt to changes in its environment" (Gephart, 1992:59).

Cultures that contribute to supportive environments for youth are based on norms and values that are developmentally focused, and encourage continuous improvement and learning on the part of staff, and assessment of program practices and staff performance.

For example, the programs we visited continually assess program components based on the perceived success of strategies and practices in promoting youth development. Through the use of staff retreats at the start and/or end of program years, and the encouragement of staff reflection on youth needs that are not being met, these programs continuously redesign the components they offer. This sometimes results in restructuring existing services, such as modifying the timing, location or staff complement associated with a component; and sometimes leads to the addition of components that are needed to strengthen the performance of the organization in achieving positive youth outcomes (e.g., adding a mentoring component at DeLaSalle, or adding a family support center and substance abuse prevention components at YALA).

This type of culture, which places youth development in the forefront, is sharply different from bureaucratic cultures that emphasize adherence to rules and external policies about how youth are "processed" and deemphasize responsiveness to youth needs as they arise. As this culture influences an organization's structure, procedures and management, it will decisively influence the overall program environment.

Summary

The major tasks for organizations that seek to enhance youth development, rather than simply transmit information, are to: 1) build teams of qualified and knowledgeable staff; 2) actively involve the staff in structuring their relations with youth in a manner that optimizes the balance between sup-

port and challenge youth receive; and 3) establish a clear sense of mission and goals that supports and rewards staff for their success in promoting youth development.

Meeting these challenges is difficult, but necessary if the environment in which programs operate is to truly foster development. Such an organizational culture and the flexibility it requires are far more likely to be found in independent, community-based operations than in large, bureaucratically operated institutions.

V. *Promoting Youth Development In The JTPA System*

This report has identified developmental needs and described the types of program activities and features that, based on developmental theory, are essential for helping disadvantaged youth achieve the maturity required for sustained success in the labor market. The programs and services funded through JTPA have been largely unsuccessful at meeting this goal, though they comprise the single largest federally funded initiative to intervene in the lives of disadvantaged youth who are not adequately prepared for their roles as adult workers. This is, in large part, because JTPA programs address the labor market difficulties of at-risk youth without focusing on the need for activities and approaches that promote personal development.

In an effort to address the distinct needs of youth, the 1982 JTPA legislation incorporated a system of youth employment competencies (YECs) into program performance standards so that the JTPA system could begin to broaden its goals for youth beyond the focus on job placement and wage rates that had been adopted from the adult training programs. However, the implementation of competency standards has varied widely throughout the system. Further efforts to reduce the system's inadequacies in preparing at-risk youth for employment culminated in the recent reform amendments to the JTPA legislation (signed into law in September 1992).

This chapter examines intervention strategies for youth used in the JTPA system insofar as their practices are likely to play a significant role in enhancing youth development and, hence, sustained employment. Since there are no systemwide data on JTPA youth program structures and service delivery, this discussion draws largely on information from the most recent in-depth examination of JTPA-funded youth services in a sample of SDAs--***Youth in JTPA***, a forthcoming publication prepared jointly by Berkeley Planning Associates (BPA) and P/PV, hereafter referred to as the BPA study. The recent JTPA amendments represent major changes in the way the system could operate for youth in the future; wherever these modifications are relevant they are incorporated into the discussion.

Assessment And Goals In JTPA Programs

In order to provide youth with training experiences that are appropriate to their level of maturity and likely to enhance their development, comprehensive assessment of their strengths and needs, and continued monitor-

ing of their progress are necessary. Youth need to develop in many areas; for any individual, this process is likely to be uneven. Therefore, planning service strategies and guiding youth requires a system for appraising youth's developmental status and needs. Once this assessment is conducted, interventions must be designed to both meet youth's immediate needs and provide them with supports and challenges that will lead to the developmental outcomes that influence labor market success.

As discussed in Chapter III, easily administrable developmental measurement instruments have yet to be developed for use in programmatic settings. Nevertheless, most exemplary youth programs have adopted strategies for comprehensively assessing adolescents, monitoring their progress during program participation, and using this information to create a developmentally appropriate experience by combining a number of suitable services.

In the JTPA system, youth are frequently given standardized tests to assess their basic skills levels and their career aptitudes and interests. In SDAs where youth competencies have been incorporated into the system, pretests of area competencies (e.g., preemployment/work maturity) are included in the initial assessment process (BPA-P/PV, forthcoming). However, appraising youth's job-readiness status by supplementing this cursory testing with other practices appears to be the exception, rather than the rule. Despite the fact that SDAs closely control the assessment process, either conducting assessments on their own or hiring a specialized contractor for this purpose, only about one-quarter of those studied had the type of thorough procedures needed to "address a truly wide range of individual needs . . . and to offer a highly individualized program" (BPA-P/PV, forthcoming:20). The youth competency system, one of the principal JTPA tools for tailoring training programs to the unique needs of youth, has not been consistently implemented or integrated into programming over the past 10 years. Only nine of 25 SDAs developed a competency approach in all three areas included under JTPA, and two had no competency system at all (BPA-P/PV, forthcoming). This has obvious implications for these service providers' capacity to design plans geared to individuals' developmental status and needs.

Of the 25 SDAs visited in the evaluation of JTPA youth programming, two used two- to three-day assessment/orientation periods involving SDA staff and youth; one conducted a 27-hour assessment/motivation workshop emphasizing self-assessment and group support; and two emphasized ongoing assessment during the entire participation period. Only six SDAs created individual service plans that laid out a package of multiple services as a tool for setting and achieving individualized goals, and four of these used case management systems to ensure that services were "client-focused." The rest offered limited assessments and used service plans as "little more than a formality" or as referral mechanisms for services (BPA-P/PV, forthcoming:20-21). This

means that less than one-quarter of the SDAs appear to be using the type of initial assessment, ongoing monitoring and individualized participation strategies described in this report as necessary ingredients for successfully intervening in the lives of disadvantaged youth. As a result, the BPA study concludes that "the overall quality of **service packages** available to individual youth was mediocre . . . [it] depended too often on the supply of providers, rather than on a well-planned, -designed and -coordinated youth service strategy" (BPA-P/PV, forthcoming:23).

The Use Of Service Strategies That Enhance Development

In regard to the quality of work and education experiences provided in the JTPA system, the findings in the BPA study offer practical confirmation of the points discussed in Chapter III. Work experiences acted as incentives for youth to enroll and remain in school-based programs directed at keeping them in school or increasing their competencies in one of three areas: pre-employment/work maturity, basic skills and job skills. The quality of work experience varied from site to site, but the "high-quality" jobs were characterized by attention from a counselor, a good worksite supervisor and a well-thought-out competency system where jobs were structured so that skills were built and reinforced over time. When work experience was offered without a built-in competency system, it was "grossly ineffectual, amounting to little more than subsidies for employers and dead-end jobs for young people" (BPA-P/PV, forthcoming:77).

The BPA report points to two difficulties for education-related programming under JTPA, particularly for out-of-school youth. First, many youth who enrolled in programs to complete their education did not achieve this goal because the negative experience they had while in school, which "turned off" these youth to academic instruction, was repeated in their program experience (BPA-P/PV, forthcoming:60). Alternative schools and instruction techniques are more likely to enable these youth to succeed. Second, many youth entered programs expecting to find employment immediately, and grew impatient with basic skills instruction. This difficulty can be addressed by designing programs that offer work and education concurrently and clearly define goals and objectives for **both** components.

In addition to the work, training and educational experiences at-risk youth need, they often require a myriad of other services (e.g., transportation, housing, child care and substance abuse treatment) to address the circumstances that interfere with their ability to participate in and benefit from interventions. In the SDAs included in the BPA study, the problem of inadequate support ser-

vices was "almost universal" and was associated with difficulties in youth recruitment, retention and completion rates (BPA-P/PV, forthcoming:75).

Overall, the picture of the strategies used and the services offered to youth under JTPA leads to the conclusion that a **minority** of SDAs appear to be offering youth the type of experience that promotes developmental maturity and, ultimately, long-term success in the labor market. This can be taken as cause for both hope and alarm. On the positive side, the requisite features of interventions that can enhance the developmental growth of at-risk youth are clearly not beyond the capacity of the JTPA system to deliver--in fact, this appears to occur in a small proportion of SDAs. On the other hand, it appears that, for the most part, youth in the JTPA system are still "faced with a bewildering maze of application procedures leading to redundant or poorly sequenced service components . . . [because] few SDAs [are] able to coordinate and integrate services across providers to create a logical . . . sequence of services to assist youth with multiple and complex needs" (BPA-P/PV, forthcoming:75). The demands this type of system makes on youth who have already been disadvantaged by the lack of institutional supports in their lives are clearly too high, and are not likely to lead to positive outcomes.

Perhaps the most discouraging aspect of JTPA programming is the slow pace at which the system has moved toward viewing competencies as the goals of interventions for youth. The basic distinction between serving adults and serving youth is that adolescents are still in the process of **developing** their **capacity** to acquire the skills and behaviors required for success in the workplace--that is, they are **developing competencies**. Although a national framework for approaching youth interventions in this manner has been in place for 10 years, the state and local actors responsible for implementing youth programs have been slow to adopt the strategy.

The recent JTPA amendments incorporate a number of new features that will make the system more amenable to addressing the developmental needs of youth; namely, the mandates for **comprehensive** assessments of youth that outline their needs; the design of **individualized** service strategies that identify goals and services for participants based on these assessments; the inclusion of a **new** set of what we have called throughout this report **developmental competencies**--called in the legislation "citizenship" skills--e.g., teamwork, problem-solving ability, self-esteem, initiative, leadership, commitment to lifelong learning and social responsibility; and a separate youth title with year-round programming. But past experience with the difficulties in implementing the YECs is a strong indication that national action that goes well beyond the passage of legislation will be required to move the system toward compliance with these mandates.

Staff/Youth Relationships In JTPA

From a developmental perspective, the relationships that youth form with adults can be the most important catalyst of the kind of growth that is key to the transition to adulthood. In the exemplary programs we studied, one-to-one relationships between participants and staff, particularly counselors, constituted a major difference between experiences that can be expected to enhance youth development and those that simply transmit information. Here, again, the findings about JTPA youth programs in the BPA study echo the findings of this report. The presence of committed, qualified, ethnically matched adults distinguished the successful programs from the others. In programs where more than one competency was offered, the availability of counselors and non-teaching staff was critical to helping "individual youth navigate a complex sequence of classes . . . by keeping **youth focused** on their own personal **objectives** . . . and **maintain[ing] interest** in [the] program" (BPA-P/PV, forthcoming:59; emphasis added). The availability of staff for such activities as case management, mentoring and job coaching were listed by the evaluators as important factors in the successful participation of young people (BPA-P/PV, forthcoming:73). This reflects the same type of structure exemplary programs use to ensure that participants receive the caring adult guidance that is integral to developmental experiences. But, again, we have no systemwide information by which to judge the extent to which this type of staff involvement with youth occurs in JTPA-funded interventions.

Qualifications and training are the other two staffing issues considered in the discussion of supportive programming for youth. A 1990 report on JTPA staffing at the state and SDA levels (BPA and Macro Systems, Inc., 1990) indicates that, in general, administrators believed that their staff possessed the right qualifications for their jobs. But, while JTPA staff are directly involved in intake, assessment and counseling of clients in about 75 percent of the SDAs, only 8 percent of the SDA administrators reported that they believed client-related skills (e.g., counseling, ability to work with disadvantaged persons, and teaching) were important skills for their staff to possess. This leaves open the question of whether the right staff are in place to meet the new legislative requirements for comprehensive assessments and service plans, which will be critical if the system is to move successfully toward developmentally appropriate programming for youth.

Regarding training priorities identified by SDA staff, it is interesting to note that both state JTPA directors and SDA directors ranked "establishing youth employment competencies" as one of their top 10 training priorities (second and seventh, respectively); and SDA directors gave high priority to training in assessment systems and techniques. However, only 32 percent of the states and 39 percent of the SDAs reported having training budgets. Not surprisingly, insufficient administrative funds and travel restrictions and costs were

most frequently cited as the primary impediments to training (BPA and Macro Systems, Inc., 1990).

Overall, the status of staffing in JTPA as it relates to youth development is problematic. SDA staff are relied on heavily to conduct assessments and offer counseling to clients. The programs that appear to be most successful for youth in the JTPA system, like the exemplary programs we studied, are those that use committed, qualified staff to provide case management, mentoring and counsel to participants. Yet it is unclear whether sufficient numbers of JTPA staff are adequately trained for these roles; or if local administrators are aware of the importance of and demands on staff who provide the necessary support to developing adolescents.

Organizational Supports For Development In The JTPA System

A clear mission, management practices and an organizational culture that promote youth development as **the** primary goal of an organization are needed if staff are to provide the type of supportive environment that enables youth to achieve the maturity required for occupational success. Perhaps the most telling result of the BPA study is the finding that nearly one-third of the sample of SDAs "had **no** clearly defined policy or programming priorities in place" that were explicit about goals for youth (BPA-P/PV, forthcoming:14). Only six of the 25 SDAs studied were characterized as "youth-oriented" in their management and services. These SDAs devoted care and resources to planning youth programming and establishing objectives, their requests for proposals reflected their objectives and goals, and they carefully monitored program activities and performance for achievement of these objectives.

This type of leadership, which reflects a strong emphasis on promoting youth's success through the provision of appropriate service strategies and support, is required if the JTPA system is to have any large-scale positive impact on the employability of youth from high-risk backgrounds. If only one-quarter of the SDAs are currently committed to this mission, the new requirement to concentrate services on a growing population that faces "multiple barriers" to employment is likely to expose greater numbers of youth to experiences that have no positive effect on their life chances.

VI. Recommendations

Helping disadvantaged segments of the youth population enter the labor market has been a longstanding goal of job training efforts supported by the U.S. Department of Labor. Meeting this goal has consistently presented difficult challenges.

Federal legislation has responded regularly to these challenges: with the Youth Employment Demonstration Projects Act; new features of the Job Training Partnership Act, which include the institution of youth employment competencies and a requirement to direct substantial funding to youth programs; and most recently, the 1992 JTPA Amendments, which create a separate youth title and increase both the emphasis on high-risk youth and the administrative flexibility to address their needs.

But while the broad mandate has been constant, there have been marked shifts in thinking about the efficacy of the programs now designed to carry it out. Recent studies have been worrisomely consistent in their findings of minimal or no effects. These results underscore not just the need to strengthen and improve legislation--however critical that may be. They also suggest that we must rethink, at a basic level, how programs supported by the legislation can be made to work more effectively.

This latter need is the justification for the present study. We have argued that programs that aim to increase tangible, workplace-related skills cannot do so unless they also give due attention to a broad range of developmental milestones and pathways that adolescents traverse on their way to adulthood.

Sustained success in today's labor market requires that individuals develop maturity in cognitive, interpersonal, emotional and moral domains. This indeed is recognized in the youth competencies termed "citizenship goals" in the new JTPA amendments.

These are intended to respond to employer demands for competency in problem-solving, teamwork, self-esteem, initiative, leadership and social responsibility. This broad range of competencies can best be attained when the natural social environment provides requisite opportunities for development. Because disadvantaged youth often grow up in neighborhoods that are constrained in the resources, challenges, supports and opportunities they offer, program settings must often act as alternative sources of the support that promotes development.

This report has therefore identified a number of programmatic features that are critical to establishing interventions that can make a significant difference in the life trajectories of youth. These features are:

- Comprehensive assessments;
- Regular monitoring of the developmental status and needs of youth as they move through programs;
- High-quality work experience and educational components that engage youth, and hold them in programs for a period sufficient to allow them to derive developmental benefits;
- Opportunities to participate in teams, discuss important life issues, and participate in the governance of programs;
- One-to-one relationships with adults trained in understanding and facilitating the developmental process;
- Support services aimed at those problems that typically prevent disadvantaged youth from maintaining their participation in program interventions, such as lack of shelter;
- Program structures and activities that promote and implement principles of fairness; and
- Organizations that operate with a clear mission, leadership culture and climate oriented toward providing a supportive environment for youth.

The new JTPA amendments have increased the system's focus on helping youth who face **multiple barriers** gain the **broad range** of competencies required for success in the work force. Therefore, it is even more critical for youth programs to advance beyond instrumental designs that treat at-risk youth as individuals who are simply in need of exposure to information and basic skills, to designs that address the features noted above. If interventions are to be effective, they must incorporate the understanding that the traits and skills that are sought for youth cannot be simply taught and transferred; they must be **developed**.

The recent JTPA amendments have given the system the formal capacity to act as a development vehicle for youth who seek the opportunity to overcome the impediments associated with their disadvantaged status. However, repeated experience with new social policy initiatives teaches us that stating goals and providing a receptive national legislative framework is not, in itself, enough to promote effective implementation. Standards, incentives and model

strategies for accomplishing these goals, along with directed technical assistance, must be made available. The following recommendations would assist DOL in fulfilling those functions:

1. **Establish "adolescent programming" as both a policy theme and a programmatic focus, and thus a focus of technical assistance efforts.** To achieve the objective of improving youth programming by focusing it more on adolescent needs will require a sustained, credible campaign on the part of DOL. If this campaign is carried out in the context of strengthening local programs and improving their results, and if it is accompanied by a solid and well-implemented program of technical assistance, we can expect to see gradual but steady progress not just toward the goals of youth development, but toward the more traditional goals of work and employment that are at the core of the Department's mission.

   The technical assistance efforts might focus on some or all of the following emphases: assessment and monitoring; staffing, staff recruitment and staff training; developmentally supportive program practices; and building stronger organizations for youth development. Such technical assistance might be offered on a limited basis at first, and perhaps done in tandem with some of the specific demonstration possibilities discussed in recommendations 5 and 6.

   The shift in policy and programming we propose, it should be noted, has clear implications for cost. The kinds of services described in earlier sections of this report, and implied in this recommendation, are typically more expensive than typical JTPA programs. If the kinds of changes and improvements we recommend are adopted, either fewer participants will be served or additional funding will be needed to serve the same number of youth.

2. **Produce and implement measures, tailored to the JTPA program environment, that are needed to conduct developmentally useful assessments of youth.** The amendments specify the need for full assessments of youth, and developmental theory and program experience point to the need for easily administered measures if assessment is to be practical and useful. Currently, those programs that conduct developmental assessments rely almost solely on the clinical interviewing skills of individual staff.

   If sound assessment that can serve developmental needs is to be widely implemented, instruments need to be developed that are well suited to JTPA goals, activities and performance standards, and that are relatively straightforward to use. Such instruments will also provide individual programs with a tangible and increased understanding of specific developmen-

tal factors, and potentially the means to track and measure progress along developmental dimensions.

3. **Provide expanded direction and technical assistance in helping SDAs adopt the youth employment competency (YEC) system more fully and effectively**. Successful implementation of the YEC system in SDAs would represent a significant advance in creating more developmentally focused programs. Yet evidence suggests that implementation has been uneven, and that current programs and performance monitoring are not being shaped by the present competency system. The creation and adoption of new developmental competencies associated with the "citizenship skills" in the 1992 Amendments heightens the need to improve implementation in this area. Heavier policy emphasis on their importance, and more intensive technical assistance in achieving the established competencies, will lay the groundwork for effective implementation of the new developmental competencies.

4. **Make more central use of work experience and education both to attract youth, and as frameworks for increasing the developmental potential of programs.** Many younger adolescents are attracted to programs because of the possibility of work, and both research and our examination of specific programs suggest that work experience has clear development potential, which careful program design and operation can tap effectively. This need not only involve investment in publicly funded work programs; private-sector jobs--particularly those in the secondary labor market--are plentiful and located near communities where at-risk youth live. Strategies to exploit their value, informally used in many programs now, could be tried out on a more extensive basis.

   Similarly, both research and program experience suggest that educational activities attract adolescents (particularly older adolescents), and, properly structured and run, can be used as a medium for achieving both engagement and attainment of developmental goals. Although such initiatives are clearly important for out-of-school youth, they should also be considered as strategies of choice for in-school programming, as alternatives to educational environments that may accelerate dropout decisions on the part of some youth.

5. **Encourage SDAs to contract with sound, experienced CBOs that work with out-of-school youth and already implement some of the features noted in this report**. CBOs that are experienced in serving disadvantaged youth in comprehensive, developmental settings are better positioned to build in the full range of necessary features. Youth require program experiences that serve as "substitute communities" where they can develop a sense of membership that is critical to transformational development. Es-

tablished community programs are more likely to provide this kind of experience than even the best coordinated services located across different settings.

6. **Consider using the YOU sites as testing grounds for full implementation of the features and practices cited in this report.** The YOU demonstration represents an effort to begin offering comprehensive youth services in a community-based setting over extended time periods. The YOU sites have had time to grapple with local implementation issues and, with guidance, may represent a fertile opportunity for DOL to field test the measure development, technical assistance and training strategies that will be required to move the system toward developmentally appropriate programming for youth.

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APPENDIX A: Descriptions of Exemplary Programs

DeLaSalle Education Center

DeLaSalle (DLS) is an alternative school located in Kansas City, Missouri. Established in 1971, DLS considers itself to be a "last-chance program" and is distinguished by its adherence to a student-centered approach that features comprehensive support service offerings and individualized case management. Personal, family, substance abuse and vocational counseling supplement DLS's concentration on providing youth with educational opportunities. DLS's goal is to reduce risk factors while increasing the personal success of high-risk youth.

The main emphasis at DLS is on academics. The ultimate goal for students is graduation from the program and the attainment of a high school credential, such as the GED. DLS's approach is "contractual." With the assistance of teachers, students design individualized courses of study, independent of such traditional school structures as grade levels, tracking or scheduled advancement. An open entry/open exit policy allows students to negotiate on a contractual basis with each teacher. DLS stresses that the contract system enables the school to provide students with customized instruction tailored to individual ability levels and learning styles; actively engage students in the learning process through contract creation and negotiation; make expectations clear to students; and easily review student progress and needs.

While academic achievement gets the lion's share of attention, issues of citizenship and interpersonal relations are highlighted as well. Staff seek to encourage appropriate personal behavior and demeanor as well as a sense of mutual responsibility and respect. Additionally, DLS tries to display trust and belief in the youth through a policy of no bells, no security guards, and a minimal number of rules. DLS adheres to a drug-free school policy.

Participant And Program Information

- Around 660 youth enrolled in DLS in the last program year. Just over half (55%) were male. Eighty-three percent of students are between the ages of 14 and 18, with the age range between 13 and 21.

- Blacks comprised 83 percent of the DLS student body while whites were 14 percent and Hispanics 3 percent in the last program year.

- Ninety percent of students are economically disadvantaged. Other risk factors include:

Two grade levels behind	95%
Substance abuse history	75%
Criminal justice history	65%
Physical or sexual abuse	45%
Single teen parent	20%
Homicide in the immediate family	18%

- The average length of stay is seven months. The average daily attendance rate is 82 percent.

- The student-to-teacher ratio is 10 to 1.

- DeLaSalle uses a diagnostic process to identify the needs of youth and to create and monitor programs to suit individual needs.

- Individualized programs include academic, vocational and intensive counseling components. The academic component offered at DLS highlights seven fundamental features: diagnostic/prescriptive teaching; student contracts; individualized coursework; intensive counseling; a comprehensive curriculum; a student-centered school structure; and quality staff.

- The vocational component of the program features business education coursework and vocational training in three student-operated businesses: woodworking, culinary arts and a print shop. Additionally, there is a JTPA program designed to teach preemployment and work maturity competencies.

- The counseling component includes individual and group counseling and such supportive services as CSTAR, a substance abuse treatment and family education program; Bridge, a college preparation and counseling program; New Steps, a teen motherhood program; and mentoring, which is anticipated to supplement the school's educational and career development offerings.

- DLS operates on a split schedule of morning and afternoon sessions of three and a half hours each. Generally, students attend the school from 7:30 to 11:00 a.m. or from 11:30 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. The split session structure serves to limit student density and classroom time, which distinguishes DLS from the all-day structure of traditional schools. With this schedule, students have four 45-minute classes or activities per day. In their classes,

students retrieve their contracts from a file cabinet and work independently and quietly. Teachers make themselves available to students for help or circulate in the room, checking up on student activities and progress.

Milwaukee Community Service Corps

The Milwaukee Community Service Corps (MCSC) is a youth employment and training program distinguished by its rigorous work experience component; its focus on teamwork; its "tough love" approach; and its emphasis on corpsmembers' taking responsibility for achieving their work and educational objectives. The program provides youth with the opportunity to gain work experience, obtain high school education credentials, and acquire the skills necessary for employment and life. The program administrators describe their role as "helping youth to help themselves." Youth are asked how they "want to solve their problems," and to make a serious commitment to doing so. At the same time, staff let corpsmembers know the program will provide them every avenue possible through which to solve their problems.

Work experience is the program's focal point, intended to develop the skills as well as the confidence and maturity of corpsmembers. Additionally, the service orientation of the work projects is designed to impart a sense of community responsibility in corps participants. Through the work experience that the program offers, corpsmembers are given a sense of "real-life" working conditions. Crew supervisors demand that corpsmembers view work experience as a job. New corpsmembers do not get placed or join; they are "hired." While the demands on the "job" are rigorous, the program structure is intended to provide corpsmembers with support through a sense of community and belonging. Both staff and corpsmembers report that the corps "gets to be like a family."

Corps staff as well as the program structure encourage participants to improve themselves and develop employability skills. Those youth who demonstrate improvement in their skills may apply for a position as assistant crew leader or crew leader. These positions mean greater income, but also greater responsibility. Additionally, the projects allow participants to engage in some career exploration by enabling them to experience different options. The staff try to rotate participants so that they have different work experiences and can examine potential careers.

Participant And Program Information

- The program has 50 slots available. The youth to staff ratio is five to one.
- Participants range in age from 18 to 23 years.
- Sixty-five percent of those in the program are male. Sixty percent of the youth in the program are black; 20 percent are Hispanic; 10 percent are white; and another 10 percent are "other."
- All program participants are classified as economically disadvantaged, with program eligibility determined by poverty-level income, residence in Milwaukee and age.
- Participants are paid minimum wage as full-time workers and work in crews of eight to 10 with one crew supervisor.
- The program has a retention rate, defined as a program stay longer than six months, of 48 percent. The average length of participation in this year-round program is 10 months. Youth may leave the program to go on to entry-level employment, postsecondary education, or an apprenticeship program or vocational education training.
- The main program components include work experience and educational services. The work experience involves productive community service and skill development.
- While the program places the strongest emphasis on work, MCSC makes an effort to include a strong educational component. Educational services include assessment, instruction, tutoring and guidance. Their main focus is to help corpsmembers obtain the GED. Educational outcomes are also more broadly defined to include interpersonal skills development and maturity. Corpsmembers have individualized development plans that establish their educational goals and individualized learning trades. On Fridays, however, group discussions take place on such topics as gangs and racial and gender differences.
- The participants spend approximately 42 hours each week in corps-related activities. There are 15 hours of mandatory education and the balance is devoted to community service projects. These projects include urban conservation and restoration, the arts, and human service projects.
- Corpsmembers are at the MCSC facility by 7:30 in the morning and remain there until 10:00 a.m. for the educational component of the program. From there, they go to worksites and return to the main facility by 5:00 p.m.

Manhattan Valley

Manhattan Valley youth program offers a variety of services for youth between the ages of 14 and 24 on-site as well as at satellite locations. The program's breadth of service, along with its focus on leadership and educational development, make it unique. The program offers leadership training, incentive-based activities, counseling, job-readiness and employment placement services, educational assistance and social services. The Valley also sponsors workshops on culture, history and the arts.

The primary goal of the program is to help youth become self-sufficient, instilling in them a sense of responsibility and community as well as respect for themselves and others. The program activities also aim at enhancing the speaking skills of youth; persuading participants that school is the avenue for success; providing different experiences and expectations that help participants develop; and offering youth a program that strikes an optimal balance between support and challenge.

Manhattan Valley not only provides services, but offers a "culture of transformation" to participants. The staff view themselves as agents of change, not just purveyors of information and services. They abide by a dress code and many view themselves as positive role models. Many Valley programs use incentives to encourage academic achievement, program participation and the development of work skills. These incentives--trips, restaurant meals, cultural or recreational activities--are designed to be "fun" and broaden the participant's view of the world. While getting a job is a powerful lure for youth, the staff view it as a starting point to working with a person. Job training is seen as an integrated effort, incorporating both technical and behavioral components. The program places an emphasis on making participants "socially functional," maintaining that strong interpersonal and social skills are a key starting point for achieving self-sufficiency.

Participant And Program Information

- Approximately 6,000 youth were served in the past year. About 2,000 youth receive intensive, ongoing services from the program. An estimated 300 youth visit the program, at either the main office or one of the satellite sites, each school day.

- The administrators estimate that 55 percent of participants are male. About half of the program participants are black; 45 percent are Hispanic; and the remainder are of Caribbean origin.

- Approximately 85 percent of participants are economically disadvantaged.

- Other risk factors:

School dropout	25%
Single parent	20%
Substance abuse history	15%
Criminal justice history	15%

- Approximately 70 percent of the participants are in school. Sixty-eight percent are high school graduates.

- The typical participant is involved in program activities for two to three years.

- The Valley offers an array of services, including leadership training and career development workshops. The leadership training is the focal point of the program, with Valley participants most likely to share this experience. Additionally, to access The Valley's job placement services, a participant must attend the day-long career development seminar.

- Three main types of delivery systems distinguish Valley services: The Valley offers school-based services; services to out-of-school youth through an alternative school; and services to all Valley clients, mostly through the main office.

- Generally, the school sites offer case management, tutoring, incentive-based activities and personal development services. Other activities, such as awards ceremonies and workshops, attempt to increase parental involvement. Additionally, each site is linked to the main office, giving participants ready access to the services provided by The Valley.

- The Valley offers services at three high schools, an alternative school and a junior high school. Additionally, after-school and evening activities are offered through a junior high school and youth center. The four major school-based programs are I Have A Dream (IHAD), Graduate Achievement Program (GAP), Project Achieve, and Genesis. The primary goals of these programs are to strengthen the academic performance and achievement of participants while heightening their leadership skills. IHAD and GAP carry the additional incentive of assistance with college expenses to program graduates. Project Achieve and Genesis are more focused on dropout prevention.

- The Valley manages the Transformation program for out-of-school youth at an alternative school. This program provides high school dropouts with educational skills instruction, work-readiness training and work experience.

- Services available to all Valley participants include: leadership training; cultural awareness and enrichment activities; employability services; pregnant teen and parenting services; drug treatment; foster care prevention; personal counseling; tutoring; and sports activities. Additionally, The Valley offers work experience through its Summer Institute of the Arts; Mass Productions, an enterprise that creates, produces and markets silk-screened T-shirts and clothing; and the Good Food Store, which sells snacks and beverages.

The Young Adult Learning Academy

The Young Adult Learning Academy (YALA) is an alternative school that was established in 1984 for dropout youth who are not adequately served by most job training and GED programs because of their poor potential for employment and low reading scores. Located in New York City, the school offers an array of services, including basic skills and vocational education; work-readiness instruction; work internships; job placement; and support services. YALA operates through collaborative relationships with eight community-based organizations (CBOs). Each CBO maintains an office at YALA with counseling and job development staff and resources.

The collaboration taps the strength of each partner. YALA focuses on providing quality educational offerings and support services. The CBOs recruit and screen young people in their neighborhoods and citywide and bring them to YALA. At YALA, the CBOs offer counseling and work-readiness and life skills instruction; oversee work experience; and are responsible for placement and follow-up.

YALA and the CBOs collaborate to help students pursue educational and employment goals. While YALA's main objectives are educational in nature, the CBOs aim at placing participants in jobs to meet Department of Employment mandated outcomes. Rather than a source of divisive tension, the differing objectives between YALA and the CBOs strengthen the program. YALA, the administration maintains, imposes accountability and honesty on program operations, helping to ensure that student needs and interests--in addition to Department of Employment mandated outcomes--are met.

In many respects, the YALA program works on a transformation rather than an information-provision model. The focus is on "planting a seed" in participants. Class activities focus on teaching students how to think and work with their peers and teachers. In classes, teachers place an emphasis on imparting problem-solving skills that are useful in and out of class. The arts are important at YALA and are used not only to convey information, but as a vehicle to engage participants in a longer-term development process through self-reflec-

tive and creative expression. The child-care program, YIP, was designed to encourage participants to think about their own development through studying to be a child-care aide. The classroom activities are hands-on and geared to transmit ideas about how humans learn, how to foster accomplishment and confidence in children, and how to create a healthy environment for growth.

Participant And Program Information

- Last year, approximately 554 youth between the ages of 16 and 24 were enrolled in YALA. An additional 230 students were served off-site.

- Slightly more women (56%) than men (44%) were enrolled. The majority of YALA students (79%) were black; 20 percent were Hispanic and data were unclear for 1 percent.

- All participants were economically disadvantaged since the program requires enrollees to be JTPA-eligible.

- Other risk factors:

School dropout	100%
At or below eighth-grade reading level	100%
Single parent	41%
Substance abuse history (estimate)	25%
Criminal justice history (estimate)	25%

- The following participation figures represent about 40 percent of a student's total program:

Average daily attendance for YALA classes	71%
Average length of stay	188 hours

- While in the education phase, YALA students attend the program from 9 to 5. Most students spend an hour a day at their CBO every day except for Friday. On Friday, they spend the full day with their CBO, involved in various preemployment, work training and maturity, and counseling activities. The other four days of the week, students take math, language arts, science and/or social studies classes. Additionally, students take a vocational education course, which is usually two hours a day, four days a week. Some more-advanced students may be designated by their CBOs to take GED-preparation courses. Students who read below a fourth-grade level can enter into an Intensive Reading Program.

- Occupational training at YALA includes these areas: child care; building maintenance; clerical training; medical aide training; nurse's assistant training; and clerk/stockboy training. YALA also features an internship program with Capital Cities/ABC.

- The services provided to students include a family support office, on-site child care, a substance abuse program, topical lunchtime workshops, and various cultural/artistic activities. Additionally, YALA offers students a breakfast and lunch program.

- In the case of YALA, JTPA rules--and, more specifically, the local SDA's interpretations of them--seem at odds with the needs of students. For instance, YALA's structure was reworked to suit SDA administrative needs. However, the resulting changes in program structure have made recruitment more difficult and hurt attendance rates because students are paid less than before during the first phase of the program; have reduced the program contact time with participants; and have put additional pressures on the CBOs to recruit and place participants within a short amount of time.

Youth Opportunities Unlimited (YOU), San Diego

YOU at San Diego is part of a multisite demonstration project that aims at communitywide change in high-poverty neighborhoods through improving existing services and creating new programs for neighborhood youth. The San Diego program was established in 1990 and is located in a predominantly Hispanic community that has overcrowded housing and schools, youth gangs, and drug problems.

The main goals of YOU at San Diego involve reducing the dropout rate; decreasing teen pregnancy, drug use and crime; and increasing youth employment. Using a case management system, the YOU program provides a variety of educational, recreational and social services to area youth. The program seeks to coordinate resources for youth that will improve their employability skills while also enhancing their self-esteem and self-discipline.

One of the core components of the program is an alternative school that targets eighth- or ninth-grade youth, focusing on students at risk of dropping out as well as those students who have already dropped out. The school is intended to meet their needs through a combination of personalized education plans, an advisory program, an interdisciplinary curriculum, community service, and cultural/arts activities.

Originally, YOU planned for the alternative school to be located on the grounds of the Boys/Girls Club. Due to city regulations, a major change in the program model occurred during the course of implementation, and the alternative school had to be relocated at a separate site and run directly by the

San Diego school system. Problems have arisen due to the school's location, including difficulties related to security, physical facilities, and image.

Participant And Program Information

- In the last program year, the program provided services to approximately 1,500 participants, who ranged in age from five to 21 years.
- About 60 percent of the participants were Hispanic, while the remaining 40 percent were black.
- Nearly all of the participants--90 to 95 percent--were economically disadvantaged.
- The program had a 70 to 80 percent retention of participants from the first to second year of program operations.
- The YOU alternative school had a 50 to 60 percent retention rate. Average attendance was reported at 25 to 28 students out of 40. The majority of students (60%) were male. Most of the students (80%) were Hispanic; the remainder were black. To enroll in the school, students had to be between the ages of 14 and 16 and live in the YOU target area.
- All core program components take place in or near the local Boys/Girls Club. The main YOU offerings include an alternative school; a community support center; a family learning center; a school-to-apprenticeship program; peer counseling; sports and recreation activities; and a summer training and education program. Additionally, a teen-parenting and child-care center is planned.
- Besides the alternative school, YOU program components and activities available to area youth include:
  - The Referral Center, which provides case management, peer-group counseling, parent conferences, and other services from various agencies that assign staff to the center;
  - The School-to-Apprenticeship program, which provides youth in the area with preemployment and employment skills and opportunities;
  - Twelve Together, which offers peer-group counseling, educational and leadership development activities, and guest speakers;
  - The Family Learning Center, equipped with about 20 computers, which offers computer literacy, keyboarding, and computer-based basic skills and math instruction;

- Sports and recreational activities; and

- Work experience, basic math and reading instruction, and life skills instruction, offered through other JTPA efforts.

APPENDIX B: A Developmental Approach To Job Training With "At-Risk" Youth: A Training Package for New Staff[1]

Training Session I

***LESSON I*: The fundamentals of adolescent development necessary to prepare a youth for the world of work.**

Objective. To help staff see that normal adolescents go through predictable stages of development, and to familiarize them with ways of assessing the stages of socio-moral, identity and logical development in order to inform and guide:

1. Staff expectations;

2. Staff decision-making;

3. The development of staff/youth relationships; and

4. Goal-setting for individual job trainees and for the group.

Method. (Our methodological goal is to get staff to join those who are "training them" in a problem-solving exercise, and to avoid a defensive confrontation regarding their intuitive theories of development, while at the same time building a common understanding.)

1. *Problem Definition*. Ask staff to share experiences about one adolescent they have worked with who has been intriguing to understand or to help.

2. Outline staff members' underlying assumptions about development and about helping.

3. *Lecture*. Present what is known about adolescent development, following stages of logical, identity and socio-moral development.

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[1] From Blakeney and Blakeney, 1992

4. Outline stages in racial identity development as a subset of identity and morality.

5. *Practice*. Present examples of adolescent reasoning at various stages and let the group practice listening for and identifying underlying structure. Evaluate: How does this kid see him- or herself; how does he or she see the world? How does he or she define right and wrong? Is he or she a concrete reasoner or does he or she think abstractly?

6. *Role-Plays*. Have staff role-play with adolescents at different stages of development, practicing both "being" at a given stage and interacting with an adolescent at that stage. For example, one staff member plays an adolescent who has a concrete logic and an egocentric social perspective; another staff plays an adolescent who is also concrete and egocentric, but who can negotiate, defining right as that which meets the adolescent's needs. A third staff member enacts a youth who is embarking on conventional morality--who possesses abstract logic and can therefore take others' perspectives and balance them against his or her own. Finally, a fourth staff member plays an intake worker, asking each adolescent why he or she wants to join the job training program.

7. *Observation*. During the work week, staff should listen for developmental stages in the job trainees' reasoning, note at least one example at each of at least two different stages, and note a bit of reasoning that they are not quite sure how to make sense of in terms of the stages. (Helpful hint: if adolescents do not spontaneously produce examples of "scorable" reasoning, staff may ask them: "Why is that good/bad/important?" "Why do you see yourself that way?" or just, "Why is that?" These questions (called "probes") should pull the structure of the adolescent's reasoning.)

Evaluation. Staff should be able to identify the adolescents' stage of moral reasoning both from paper and pencil (hypothetical) data, and from reasoning within the context of the day-to-day job training program.

Training Session II

LESSON II: **The relationship between thinking, feeling and behavior in child and adolescent development**.

Objectives.

1. To show staff how children begin to integrate feeling, thinking and behavior as they grow and develop;

2. To understand the role of **misbehavior** in development, with attention to the relationship between judgment and action;

3. To distinguish between transitional misbehavior that acts out a genuine question, and misbehavior that avoids feedback and maintains self-defeating patterns.

Method.

1. *Problem Definition.* Ask staff to compare the interactions around rules of a three- or four-year-old, an eight- or nine-year-old and a fourteen-year-old. The examples might involve children playing together (e.g., marbles, card games, board games, school-yard games) or children challenging adult rules.

2. From the observations of staff, outline the developmental shift that integrates thinking and feeling as it guides behavior.

3. *Lecture.* Present theories that account for the relationship between judgment and behavior: how judgment guides behavior and how behavior informs judgment. Also review the role of feelings in moral judgment development as well as in moral behavior.

4. Present the notion that misbehavior is a way of acting out or testing a moral claim. Misbehavior is described as a way individuals test what they know about right and wrong, as well as a way of asserting a particular moral claim (e.g., I don't have to listen to you, you're not my momma). Staff should learn to classify misbehaviors based on whether they are overt or covert, and based on the object of the misbehavior (who the trainee is acting out against: staff, peers, program norms or self). This helps to establish the trainees' issues and learning style.

5. *Practice.* From a list of typical misbehaviors (e.g., lying, stealing, insubordination and disrespect) ask staff members to: (a) "justify" the moral rightness of the action from the point of view of a child of three or four, and of a child of eight, nine or ten; (b) identify the object of the misbehavior; and (c) say whether it is overt or covert.

6. *Observation.* During the subsequent work week, staff should observe in the natural environment of the worksite (or ask questions if the opportunity presents itself) how at-risk youth reason about misbehaviors like lying, cheating and stealing. Staff should pay particular attention to "practical" reasons for misbehavior (I took it because she left it out) and emotional reasons for misbehavior (I was mad, that's why I cussed him out). This helps them to understand the moral meaning for the child, as well as to determine

whether misbehavior is affectively driven or practically driven.

Evaluation. Staff should be able to:

1. Accurately distinguish among the reasons of a four-year-old, nine-year-old and fourteen-year-old;

2. Distinguish between a misbehavior that seeks feedback and one that is closed to feedback; and

3. "Guess" the kind of reasons a trainee will use in the Community Forum or Fairness Committee.

Training Session III

LESSON III: **Developmental anomalies: straying from the path.**

Objective. To help staff understand that all kids do not follow the "normal" path described by constructivist theory, and **how** and **why** youth deviate from this broad developmental path.

Method.

1. *Problem Definition.* Ask staff to describe a child who is puzzling or troubling to them in terms of behavior and relationships, with evidence of reasoning if available. Ask about the family history of the child, if known. Read excerpts from moral judgment interviews with troubled children and ask staff: What's different about the way this youth thinks? What's different in the logic? What's different in the sense of self?

2. Summarize the patterns of problems in behavior, in reasoning and in sense of self that staff have observed. Discuss the type of environments in which the patterns would make sense/be adaptive.

3. *Didactic Lessons*. The impact of ambivalent child rearing, abuse, neglect and community disintegration on children's development:

   a. The abused martyr,

   b. The neglected rebel, and

   c. The detached youth.

The impact of minority status on moral development:

a. Ethnocentrism, and

b. Anger at injustice.

The thinking, feeling and behavior of maltreated children.

4. Present the maladaptive strategies of at-risk youth--how young people avoid growing, learning and changing--with implications for how we can intervene to unlock the patterns: the imbalance between thinking and feeling; the imbalance between relational and isolated; the imbalance between open and closed.

5. *Practice*. Role-play a situation in which a maladaptive pattern is "adaptive," then use the same strategy in a work situation in which it is dysfunctional or inappropriate (e.g., talking to a girl/boy on the block and on the job; avoiding a confrontation with an alcoholic parent and with a job site supervisor). Identify disturbances in the logic of adolescent reasoning from protocol interviews. Describe what is disturbing about the logic. Distinguish between confusion or conflict, developmental lag or arrest, and "fundamental" or deep structure disturbance. Derive the implications for intergroup relations from a description of minority status identity.

6. *Observation*. In the job training program, staff should identify patterns of behavior and reasoning that might have been adaptive in a different situation, and experience whether understanding the context in which the behavior/reasoning might be appropriate makes it easier for them to deal with the behavior.

Evaluation. Staff will try repeating back to a trainee what they hear the youth saying, to see whether they "get it" (the traditional: "What I hear you saying is . . .") The first step to effective transformation is knowing where the transformer is. If staff are "hearing" a youth, he or she will feel understood on his or her own terms. Trust and cooperation will increase and moral authority will be enhanced.

Training Session IV

LESSON IV: **Using the relationship as an agent of transformation and for behavior management.**

Objective. To help staff understand the role they assume and the relationship they establish with the trainee, and to learn to use that relationship as a means of transmitting knowledge and creating the conditions for transformation.

Method.

1. *Problem Definition.* Not all relationships are conducive to growth. Have staff outline how they see themselves on one side of a page; in two to three other columns, have the staff write out how they think each of two or three of the trainees see them. Next, staff should think about what they see as the problems each of those trainees will have in preparing for the world of work, and what the trainee needs to do to get to that point. Finally, for each of the trainees mentioned, they should answer the questions: (a) How can my relationship with this trainee help to achieve those goals; and (b) What is there about me or my relationship with the trainee that might impede his or her ability to achieve the training goals?

2. *Lecture/Review.* What we have learned about development and disturbance. How to establish a developmental relationship with youth at various stages. The risks of authoritarian relationships; the risks of "making deals" with youth; the risks of getting emotionally overinvolved and overidentifying; the risks of rigid rule adherence. There are two kinds of learning styles--assimilation and accommodation; and two kinds of intervention--confrontation and confirmation.

3. *Practice.* Role-play talking with kids about changing, say, a postural stance ("attitude"), a hairdo, a nose ring, or a T-shirt that says "It's a Black thing, you wouldn't understand"--for the sake of a job. Use knowledge of developmental stages and what is important to a youth at that stage to convince them that they should do what you have suggested. Practice direct suggestion and practice getting the adolescent to figure it out for him/herself. Identify what is important for the youth to "hang on to" (and why). What would be the loss for this youth in changing? What are his or her fears? Identify what goal the youth might have and how you can use that to encourage him/her to "move," to take the risk to change.

4. *Observation/Practice.* At the job training site, staff should practice thinking through a youth's needs and goals, and his or her learning style;

practice intervening by using one stage above the youth's in order to encourage growth; and be aware of their own needs in doing this intervention.

Evaluation. Staff will use increasingly theoretically guided interventions in Community Forums and Fairness Committee meetings, and will be increasingly aware of whose needs are being met by a given intervention strategy, and in various relationships. Other staff members will see the same changes in the trainees' behavior and attitude, and attribute the change (at least in part) to the transformational relationship. Finally, there may also be changes in the nature or quality of staff members' relationships, attitudes and behaviors with trainees and with colleagues.

Training Session V

LESSON V: **Using the system for behavior management and for transformation.**

(n.b.--This training outline presupposes that all new staff members will have received a program orientation that includes a description of the program governance structure we have recommended in this paper. It further presupposes that a staff member will have been working in the program for several weeks by the time this lesson is presented, and will therefore have at least observed, if not participated in, Community Forums and Fairness Committee meetings.)

Objective. To provide staff with a tool that not only takes the problem of behavior management outside the interpersonal relationship, but also helps make all parties accountable to one another, in a way that approaches both fairness and caring. Creating this environment may well be a disequilibrating experience for at-risk youth whose experiences in the family, the school and the greater community are too often those of benign neglect at best, and malevolence and abuse at worst. Someone treating at-risk youth in a fair and caring manner might catch them off guard.

Method.

1. *Problem Definition*. Have staff recount times they have been unable to "manage" a trainee's behavior within the context of the job training site, in the moment.

2. *Lecture/Demonstration*. What are pull-ups and how do they work? How do you label a misbehavior for a youth? How does framing the misbehavior change the ongoing interaction? How do you acknowledge the underlying moral claim in this misbehavior while nevertheless changing the

behavior itself? How do you discuss the misbehavior in a way that is developmental within the Fairness Committee?

3. *Practice*. In this unit, several staff members should role-play trainees, and one staff member should be "the teacher"--one or more of the trainees may refuse to cooperate, becoming insubordinate and disrespectful around job interview practice sessions, for example. The staff member should practice intervening with the use of a pull-up, including labeling the misbehavior (you're being insubordinate), identifying the moral claim, (I know it's frustrating having to play like you're kissing), and framing the misbehavior (how can you get yourself to do this without losing face).

4. *Observation/Practice*. Staff should not only practice using pull-ups as a resource for helping the youth to change, but should also practice discussing the misbehavior with the youth in the Community Forum and Fairness Committee in order to better understand the underlying moral claims and the strategies youth use to keep from changing, as well as the supports the youth need for making changes. Staff members should practice confronting a misbehavior, and confirming an underlying feeling. Staff should also practice working with a partner, where one confirms and the other confronts or challenges.

Evaluation. There will be an increase in the number of developmentally written pull-ups and an increase in participation in various program components. Staff members will begin to come to the staff training with specific, theoretically guided problems (e.g., How come when I confronted DeeDee with how I saw her attitude, she got quiet but refused to participate all that day, and missed training the next day? How else could I have given her feedback and stopped the dumb stuff? If she doesn't learn, she'll never get a job; but if we confront her, she may drop out).

Training Session VI

LESSON VI: **Establishing moral authority.**

Objective. To help staff learn to integrate relationships with their role as an agent of transformation; learn to integrate this role with teamwork; and learn to help youth trust that what they are doing is in their best interest, even when they are confronting them or pulling them up.

Method.

1. *Problem Definition*. Ask staff how they can attempt to have a good relationship with a youth and still command respect and establish authority.

Have staff share experiences where their attempts worked and where they did not. Ask how they can meet individual developmental needs and still keep the group running smoothly.

2. *Lesson*. Techniques for establishing complementary (e.g., adult/child; teacher/student) relationships and avoiding symmetrical (e.g., peer-to-peer) relationships; establishing a leadership role in the group; and using the system (Fairness Committee) and the relationship for establishing moral authority. Things to learn:

   a. To meet trainees' individual nurturing needs **before** structured training time (not in the middle of a lesson)--that way, the needy and/or demanding students will not detract from the lesson in order to get those needs met;

   b. To help trainees individually to make the transition to the structured activity--that is, treat each student as an individual, with respect, then expect group cooperation and participation;

   c. To establish your role as arbiter of fairness and caring from Day 1;

   d. To make your expectations and your "rules" clear from beginning;

   e. To avoid letting your cultural, racial or gender biases (pro or con) influence your relationships or decisions in the fair and caring application of the rules;

   f. To balance your need to be in charge with adolescents' need for establishing independence--in other words, your need to be "the adult" should not get in the way of helping the trainee to become an adult;

   g. To use the system as a transformational tool. Pulling youth up is not a personal failure, but rather a way to help them grow; and

   h. To use your colleagues as a resource. Remember that you are working with a team--this is not an enterprise for superheroes, nor is it a cult of personality. Adolescents must learn to work with a variety of adults, each of whom should have his or her own moral authority stemming from his or her own personal integrity.

3. *Practice*. Through role-play, staff should practice establishing a relationship with a new trainee individually, then bringing that relationship into the group. Practice establishing a symmetrical relationship, then a complementary one. Practice establishing an "authoritarian" relationship and a "nurturing" one. Practice giving a warning and a pull-up from within each

type of relationship. Practice getting feedback from coworkers about relationships they establish with the youth individually and with the group in terms of moral authority.

4. *Observation*. Have staff reflect on the kinds of authority that make them most comfortable and most uncomfortable. By examining their own interventions with individuals and with the group with respect to their effectiveness in exercising moral authority, have them consider the following questions: How do you feel when you are able to adequately exercise moral authority? How do you think the trainee feels? How do you feel when you can't exercise moral authority with the trainees? How do you think they feel?

Evaluation. One concrete measure of adequate exercise of moral authority is whether staff can set limits with trainees without having them "go off," and whether they will do what is asked of them without putting up much of a fuss--not out of fear of punishment, abandonment or rejection, or because they were promised something. A good measure of staff's moral authority is whether they can leave the trainees alone to complete a project, and they do so in a disciplined manner. It is also a measure of staff's moral authority when a student can ask for a hug or a cup of coffee without being manipulative, even when staff have set limits for them.

Training Session VII

LESSON VII: **The moral atmosphere of the group.**

Objective.

1. To help staff see that the general atmosphere (organizational climate) affects and is affected by staff and trainee maturity and stability.

2. To teach staff to recognize opportunities for creating conditions for the growth of the group, so that youth may grow through the group.

Method.

1. *Problem Definition*. Given limited resources, there is increasing need for creating developmental opportunities within the group setting, rather than through one-on-one relationships. Further, adolescents have a developmental need for group interaction. This need is often exercised without adult approval, so that increasingly the needs of each group (the staff group and the trainee group) have the potential to become adversarial, with adults setting limits and youth either defiant or compliant--but not moving toward

partnership in the adult world of responsibility and accomplishment. How can we create an environment where youth feel safe to express their claims; secure that basic needs will be met; and comfortable in the relationships they have with adults and peers so that they may construct roles for themselves in the wider world, and expect support from the group for the risks they take?

2. *Didactic Lesson.* Evaluating moral atmosphere. Organizational climate, like individual character, has the potential for transformation. There are four stages in the development of the moral atmosphere (organizational climate) of the group, which parallel individual development:

   a. safety,

   b. needs,

   c. relationships, and

   d. roles.

Each stage is characterized by particular group issues predictably related to the central concerns of a given stage (e.g., concern with physical safety and arbitrary punishment, fights and expulsions at stage 1; stealing at stage 2; trust, friendship, gossip (he says/she says) and favoritism at stage 3; fair application of the rules at stage 4). Further, with at-risk youth, there are likely to be warps in the atmosphere when there is an imbalance in group membership. There may be a youth-against-the-staff atmosphere (which we call rebellion) if there are too many youth who are out of touch with their feelings and afraid of relationships. This atmosphere has the downside risk of "every person for themself." Or there may be a self-sacrificing atmosphere where too many students set themselves up for failure, thereby undermining the ability of staff to encourage success as a goal of the group. These students are more interested in maintaining relationships than in moving self-confidently toward competence.

3. *Didactic Lesson.* Facilitating growth through the group. There are certain **conditions that are conducive to growth** of the atmosphere and the individuals:

   a. community consciousness,

   b. moral focus,

   c. opportunity for discussion of genuine issues, with conflicting claims,

d. opportunities for taking other people's perspectives,

e. cross-stage discussion, and

f. exposure to higher-stage reasoning.

All these conditions can be built into the program structure throughout (e.g., in job-preparation classes, the residential component of Job Corps programs, counseling supervision, etc.) and are specifically designed to guide the process in Community Forums and Fairness Committee meetings.

4. *Practice 1.* Choosing an issue that has come up within the group in the past couple of weeks, several staff members should play students at different stages of moral development, with different concerns and orientations toward the issue, while two staff members play staff attempting to facilitate a just resolution of the issue by creating the conditions for growth. Such issues might include some of those we have discussed above (stealing, gossip, reputation, etc.) or might include something like relevance of curriculum, placement in groups, or sexual accusations against a staff member by a student.

5. *Practice 2.* Repeat Practice 1, this time using an issue that is a genuine moral issue among staff members (e.g., Should a particular student be expelled? Should a new dress code be enforced? Should certain music be disallowed at lunch? How should limited resources be reallocated?, etc.)

6. *Observation/Practice.* During the coming weeks, staff will practice intervening in Community Forums in ways designed to facilitate growth within the group. For example, if somebody raises an issue about an increase in mean "capping," they might try asking: How do we want people to relate to each other in X training program? What would be good about being that way on the job? Why is it okay when you're not on the job? How do you think Sandra feels when Malcolm caps like that? Why might Malcolm do that? How we can help . . .?

Evaluation. Staff will become increasingly competent at spontaneously creating conditions for moral growth within the Community Forums. There should be a decrease in power struggles between staff and trainees, and an increase in leadership taken by trainees in themselves asking questions that facilitate growth. There should also be an increase in community consciousness and a measurable increase in "we" statements made by students.

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Summer 1993